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1883.

DAVID ROTHE, A.D. 1618-1650.

(CONTINUED).

THE 23rd of October, 1641, marks a memorable era in our nation's history. The Irish Catholics in Ulster who had been so long trampled upon with impunity by English and Scotch adventurers, and were even now threatened by the rebel Puritans with utter extermination, appealed to arms in defence of religion, and their lives and liberties. The flame of national and religious enthusiasm thus kindled spread in a few weeks to every hamlet in the kingdom. The assertors of the national rights assumed the title of Irish Confederates, and they chose the city of Kilkenny as the seat of the national government. An inland town safe from the attack of a hostile fleet, and rendered further secure by strong walls and a noble castle, it was situate in the centre of a rich and fertile tract of country, abounding in supplies, and easily accessible on every side. In its outward aspect too it contrasted not unfavourably with most of the other cities and towns of Ireland. The Viceroy, Lord Strafford, in his correspondence, has left on record the impressions made upon him by its appearance during his official tour through Leinster and Munster. He thus writes from Kilkenny on the 16th of August, 1837: "I have not seen anything so noble since my coming into this kingdom as is this place. And a very fine, sweet country all along. Here the town hath entertained us with the force of oratory and the fury of poetry, and rather taught me what I should be than told me what I am." (The Life of Wentworth, London, 1874, vol. II., 41.)

In the first moments of the popular excitement, and whilst the peaceable citizens were rejoicing in the overthrow of the Puritan tyranny, a small body of rioters availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to plunder some few of the most obnoxious Protestant families in Kilkenny and its neighbourhood. The determined attitude of the Catholic population very soon put an end to this rioting. Lord Mountgarret, with a pistol, shot dead one miscreant whom he detected in the act of plundering. It is pleasant to record that this was the only life forfeited on either side, amid all the excitement of those days, and it reflects no little credit on this Catholic city

that not a single Protestant suffered death in the inauguration of the triumph of the Catholic cause. Several, however, of the English Protestants, conscience-stricken, and fearing lest condign punishment should be meted to them for their past manifold evil deeds, fled in terror from their homes, and sought a refuge within the strong barriers of the Ormonde Castle. Lord Mountgarret and the citizens offered to guarantee their safety, and to defend them at the risk of life from every attack, but they chose rather to ask permission, which was readily granted them, to retire to the strong castle of Carrick. A guard of Catholic troops accompanied them thither, and after a few days, as their terror still continued, they were permitted to proceed to Waterford, and to embark there for England.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm which everywhere prevailed throughout the country, it soon became apparent that it was idle to look forward to ultimate success unless a central government were organized to gather together the nation's strength, and guide it in the struggle against the Puritan enemy. The conference between the Catholic gentry of Meath and the northern leaders held at Tara hill at Christmas, 1641, gave hopes that all parties would lay aside their rivalry and harmoniously combine in defence of their common country. Messengers from the Continent brought the cheering intelligence that many brave Irish officers who had won bright laurels in the armies of Spain and France only awaited the summons to draw the sword at home. But as yet, though the months were quickly passing, there was no supreme authority whom all would respect and obey.

At length the Bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, issued an invitation to all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, to the Representatives of the Chapters, the Heads of the religious orders, and the clergy most remarkable for their zeal, learning, and prudence, to meet in Kilkenny, not in National Synod nor in Parliament, but in friendly Conference to deliberate together as to the proper course to be pursued in the actual crisis of the country the better to ensure the triumph of the national cause. Early in the month of May, 1642, several of the Prelates and other representatives of the clergy assembled in Kilkenny in the Bishop's house. Their deliberations were prolonged for a week, under Dr. Rothe's presidency, and all partook of his hospitality during their stay. Lynch, in his MS. history, adds the detail that each one had lodgings assigned to him in the city, but all met at an early hour

in the Bishop's house, took their meals with him, and with the exception of an hour during which they walked in the Bishop's garden, spent the remainder of the day in friendly discussion, and in earnest deliberation to promote the interests of Ireland. It is also related that on the second day of their deliberations the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. O'Queely, not being punctual in attendance was called to order by Dr. Rothe. Far from resenting the admonition, the Archbishop promised to be more punctual in future. The next morning, however, Dr. O'Queely was again absent from his place, and another admonition awaited him, the Bishop reminding him that they were not engaged in any matters of private interest, but that the welfare of the nation was at stake. The Archbishop humbly acknowledged that he was most justly to blame, and declared that though he might be obliged to pass the whole night without a moment's rest he would henceforward be found punctual at his post in the assembly. Lynch adds that the assembled clergy knew not which to admire most, the Bishop's earnestness and devoted zeal, or the humble docility of the illustrious Archbishop. Subsequent events proved what probably was not then known to Dr. Rothe, that Archbishop O'Queely was no less versed in military affairs than in ecclesiastical matters, and it is not difficult for us to surmise that on this occasion of his visit to Kilkenny there were not a few of the popular leaders who were eager to confer with him on the resources of the western province, and to receive his suggestions as to the course to be pursued in the approaching struggle.

Among the assembled Prelates there were some who hesitated to justify the Ulster appeal to arms, and advanced the plea that it was an act of rebellion to refuse obedience to those who held authority in the king's name. There were others, however, who viewed the situation in quite a different light. It was not an act of treason, they said, to defend your life and liberty against the unjust aggressor, nor should it be stigmatized as rebellion to defend at the same time the crown and your country and religion against the Puritan enemy who made use of the royal authority merely as a mask to conceal their real designs, whilst they at the same time raged with unheard of cruelty against the Irish Catholics and vowed utterly to extirpate them. After a lengthened discussion all concurred in the opinion of Dr. Rothe that it would be unwise for

them to waste time in discussing the abstract question as to the merits or demerits of the first phases of the national movement in Ulster. They had now to fix their attention on the existing state of things. The people had flung aside the intolerable Puritan tyranny. Their lives and liberties, their religion and every dearest interest were at stake: it was only by arms that these could be defended against the unjust attacks of their enemies. Whatever opinion individuals might entertain as to the origin of the struggle, it had now become the duty of all to unite with the nation in arms, and to aid them in the defence of their religion, their sovereign, and their country. All readily adopted this opinion of the venerable Prelate, and thenceforth the Confederates emblazoned as their motto on their banners the memorable words "Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hibernia unanimis."

The resolutions adopted at this assembly of the Irish clergy may be seen in the original Latin text in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. 1., 262. They were published in London in an English translation towards the close of the year 1642, with many alterations and omissions, and this imperfect version has been reproduced by Mr. Gilbert in his edition of Bellings' History of the Irish Confederation (vol. 2nd, page 84, Dublin, 1882). The assembled clergy declared the war on which the Confederates had entered to be just, and they enjoined a solemn oath of association to be taken by all. The odious distinction between the ancient and modern Irish, from which so many evils had resulted in times past, was to be studiously avoided. Besides the Provincial Councils a General Assembly, corresponding to parliament, was to be convened, wherein the representatives of the people might deliberate and legislate on everything connected with the interests of the nation. It was also ordered that "in each province a faithful inventory should be made of the burnings, murders, and all such deeds of cruelty, perfidy, barbarity and impiety as had been perpetrated by the Puritan enemy, noting the day, the place, the cause, the manner, the persons, and other circumstances, and attested by a person invested with public authority." In each barony a trustworthy and sworn messenger was appointed to notify to the neighbouring districts such cruelties and other information as it might be desirable to communicate, and in like manner similar information was to be forwarded from one province to another for the consolation guidance and security of the people.

None were to sue for peace without the consent of the General Assembly. The clergy were to labour assiduously to promote concord and charity among all who were united in the common bond of the Confederation. "All persons guilty of murder, robbery, or other such grievous crimes, and all who harbour or assist in any way such delinquents shall incur excommunication, and this excommunication shall continue till they repent and make due satisfaction for their offences." Encouragement was to be given to foreign artificers skilled in the manufacture of firearms to settle in Ireland, and to such merchants as would engage to transport arms, ammunition, and other merchandize profitable to the national cause. Chaplains were to accompany the troops, and the important decree is added: "To the end that all these acts and Ordinances may attain their purpose we deem it fitting to have recourse to God by fasting and alms. It is therefore our will, and request, and, as far as may be necessary, our command, that every priest of the secular or regular clergy shall celebrate one mass each week, and that all, including the laity, shall keep the fast upon Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in one week, and further upon each Wednesday as long as it shall please the ordinary in each diocese to so direct, and that they offer up prayers to God for the prosperous issue of this our Catholic war; and thus they may gain an indulgence of fifty days, as each prelate shall publish in his respective diocese, having kept the fast of the aforesaid three days in one week, and confessed and received the Blessed Sacrament, and bestowed some alms to this effect."

The names of the prelates and other clergy attached to these important resolutions are:

Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh.
Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel.
Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam.
David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory.
Fr. Boetius MacEgan, Bishop of Elphin.
Fr. Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
Fr. Rock MacGeoghegan, Bishop of Kildare.
John de Burgo, Bishop-Elect of Clonfert.
Emer MacMahon, Bishop-Elect of Down and Connor.
Fr. Joseph Everard, Procurator of the Archbishop of Dublin.
John Creagh, D.D., Procurator of the Bishop of Limerick.

David Burke and William O'Connell, Procurators of the Bishop of Emly.
Donat O'Tearnan, Procurator of the Bishop of Killaloe.
Denis Harty, D.D., Dean of Killaloe.
Michael Hackett, D.D., Vicar-General of Waterford.
William Devereux, Vicar-General of Ferns.
Thomas Rothe, Vicar-General of Ossory.
Fr. Luke Archer, Abbot of Holy Cross.
Fr. Antony de Rosario, O.P., Vicar-Provincial.
Robert Nugent, S.J., Superior for Ireland.
Fr. Thady Connold, O S.A., pro-Provincial.
John Wareing, Dean of Limerick.
Fr. Patrick Darcy, O.S.F., Guardian, Dublin.
Fr. Thomas Strange, O.S.F., Guardian, Waterford.
Fr. Joseph Lancton, O.P., Prior, Kilkenny.
Fr. Thomas Tearnan, O.S.F., Guardian, Dundalk.
Fr. John Reilly, O.S.F., Guardian, Kilkenny.
Fr. Boetius Egan, O.S.F., Guardian, Buttevant.
Jordan Boork, Archdeacon of Limerick.

The Bishops and Clergy having brought their deliberations on ecclesiastical and public matters to a close, published, to the great joy of the nation, the resolutions which had been adopted. The oath of Association was everywhere taken throughout the kingdom, and the Representatives for the General Assembly were elected in all the counties and important towns not subject to the Puritan Authority. It is to be regretted that the names of the members of this the first truly national Parliament held in Ireland since the Anglo-Norman invasion have not been recorded. Mr. Gilbert, indeed, in his edition of Bellings' history, has published what he supposed to be the roll of Members of this General Assembly (II. 212), but the roll which he publishes is the list of the second General Assembly which sat in 1647. Suffice it to say that on this roll appears the name "Edmundus Limericensis," that is Edmond O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, who took no part in the first General Assembly, but being appointed Coadjutor Bishop in 1645, and having succeeded to the See in 1646, was elected for the Assembly of 1647.

The General Assembly met in Kilkenny on the 24th of October, 1642, and continued its sittings till the following January, when it

adjourned to May, 1643. The official record of their Acts may be seen in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. 2, page 9. Suffice it here to remark that the Representatives appear to have proceeded throughout this prolonged session in a most practical way. The sessions were held in the house of Mr. Robert Shee, son of Sir Richard Shee, situated in Coal Market. Many still living remember this large mansion, which was popularly known as the Parliament House, and which by an act of vandalism was pulled down about forty years ago to make way for the present market place. At present nothing remains but the name of Parliament-street to point to the site of this most memorable place of assembly. The ground floor was used as a prison. The hall of assembly, forty-nine feet by forty-seven, was on the first story; its mullioned windows were lightsome, though narrow; portions of the benches with high backs were carefully preserved till a comparatively recent date, and are supposod to be the same now shown in the museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. A Supreme Council, consisting of twenty-four members, six from each province, was elected by the General Assembly, and to it were entrusted the appointment to the various official posts, the administration of the affairs of the State, and the general Government of the kingdom. Lord Mountgarret was chosen President of this supreme council, and apartments in the Ormonde castle were allotted him for his official residence. To Mr. Patrick Darcy were assigned the duties of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Peers, whilst Mr. Nicholas Plunket occupied the post of Speaker in the General Assembly. The varions departments of the national Government had their offices in the Ormonde Castle, which for that reason is styled by the Alithinologia, published in 1664, "Comitiorum sedes ac domicilum."

The twenty-four members of the General Assembly selected to form the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederation were as follows:

From Leinster: Lord Gormanstown, Lord Mountgarret, Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin; Mr. Nicholas Plunket, Mr. Richard Bellings, Mr. James Cusack.

From Ulster: Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh; Emer MacMahon, Bishop of Down and Connor; Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, Colonel MacBrien MacMahon, Ever MacGennis, Tirlagh O'Neill.

From Connaught: Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam:

Lord Mayo; John de Burgo, Bishop of Clonfert; Sir Lucas Dillon, Mr. Patrick Darcy, Mr. Geoffry Brown.

Fom Munster: Lord Roche; Sir Daniel O'Brien; Mr. Edmund Fitzmorris, Gerrot Fennel, M.D.; Mr. Robert Lambert, Mr. George Comyn.

The vicissitudes of the Confederate cause, and the political intrigues and military achievements which marked this eventful period of our history do not belong to these pages. Dr. Rothe was already far advanced in years, and no sooner was the Confederate Government moulded into regular shape than he withdrew as much as possible from the political arena in the General Assembly and reserved his energies for the spiritual interests intrusted to his charge. Thenceforward it was only in cases of special interest which were linked with the welfare of the Irish Church, that we find the venerable Prelate entering the lists to engage in discussions with the leaders of the Confederate cause. The flight of the Protestant Bishop and Clergy placed the Cathedral of St. Canice at his disposal. He did not however proceed at once to dedicate it to Catholic worship. In the hands of the Protestant clergy it had quite fallen into decay; he resolved that before its dedication it should be entirely renewed. In particular it is recorded that through his care a marble high-altar was erected, adorned with statues of St. Kieran and St. Canice, and worthy in its minutest details of the Cathedral in which it stood. In the mean time St. Mary's Church was reconsecrated and used for all solemn religious ceremonies, and throughout the whole period of the Confederation it was thrown open to the piety of the faithful. For some months Dr. Rothe continued to reside in his private house; he then with due solemnity, accompanied by his clergy, occupied the old Episcopal mansion. In accordance with the rule which he enacted all the parochial clergy of the city resided with him. For three months in turn they devoted themselves to the missionary duties, and then a like interval was allowed them for applying themselves to study and attending to their own sanctification. In the Episcopal house a strict collegiate rule was kept, and the aged Bishop was himself a model to all in its observance.

In the month of July, 1642, Owen Roe O'Neil, accompanied by a small band of devoted officers, landed in Donegal. The leaders of the national cause in the North were at that very time assembled near the

church of Tynan, in the county of Armagh, quite disheartened by their repeated defeats at Drogheda, Dundalk, Lisnagarvy, and elsewhere. Their troops, though badly armed, had been at first everywhere successful, for their enthusiasm and courage enabled them to overcome every difficulty. Owing, however, to the neglect of discipline and the absence of organised leaders their enthusiasm had in great part degenerated into the pursuit of plunder; the stores of arms and ammunition were soon exhausted, and the leaders unaware that help was so near at hand, had already discussed for several days the expediency of abandoning the unequal contest and withdrawing to the Continent. It was when their deliberations were about to be brought to a close that a messenger was seen hurrying towards their place of meeting. He brought a letter from Owen Roe announcing his safe landing from the Continent with arms and ammunition. When this announcement was made to the assembled leaders they flung up their caps through joy, and with a prolonged hurrah avowed their resolve to uphold thenceforward till death the Confederate cause.

With no less joy, in the month of June, 1643, the whole city of Kilkenny went out to welcome Father Peter Francis Scarampo, priest of the Oratory, bearer of a commission from Pope Urban the Eighth, as representative of the Holy See, to the Irish Confederates. It was the main object of his mission to aid by prudent counsel the Bishops and other leaders of the national cause in all matters connected with the interests of religion. He moreover conveyed the Blessing of His Holiness to all engaged in the defence of religion and country, and he announced the gladsome tidings that a special Jubilee had been proclaimed in Rome in favour of the Irish Catholics. From the letters of Cardinal Barberini we learn the impression made on the authorities in the holy city by the reception thus accorded to Father Scarampo: "Your letters of the 21st of July from Kilkenny, he thus writes, were read in the Congregation which His Holiness has instituted for the consideration of Irish affairs, and all were consoled beyond measure to learn your safe arrival, the joy with which you were welcomed, and the respect and kindness shown to you alike by the clergy and laity: this we regard as a happy augury that, aided by the divine grace, your mission will redound to the glory of God, the progress of religion, and the welfare of that kingdom."—(*Rinuccini MSS.*)

Very soon intricate and important questions arose to test the foresight and prudence of the representative of the Holy See.

The property of the monasteries and other religious houses had been in the preceding reigns ruthlessly confiscated by the State, and sold or otherwise appropriated to secular purposes. Was this property to be now restored to its original owners? A great deal of it had passed by purchase or inheritance into Catholic hands. Were the purchasers to be deprived of the property thus acquired, or could they conscientiously continue to retain it? Such were the questions frequently asked and freely discussed. Some persons referred to the general dispensation regarding the Ecclesiastical property granted by Cardinal Pole towards the close of Queen Mary's reign. But even admitting this dispensation to hold good, it could not avail for the religious property confiscated at later times under Elizabeth and James the First. The representatives of the old monastic orders, on their part, were not exacting in their demands. The Cistercians, for instance, having got possession of Jerpoint and some other ruins of their former monasteries, presented to the General Assembly of the Confederates the following petition:—"Your petitioners humbly show that in accordance with their rule and institute, they devote themselves to serve God within the enclosure of their sacred monasteries, of some of the sites and structures of which, through the Divine blessing, they have re-obtained possession. Your petitioners, however, are wholly unprovided with sufficient means of subsistence. Wherefore they pray your honourable Assembly to restore to them the monasteries, churches, and chapels, hitherto in the possession of the enemy, and at present in the hands of the State, and further to grant them a right of preference at a moderate rent in regard to the lands, tithes, and other property attached to such monasteries, and moreover to allow them out of such rents some small income sufficient for their sustenance. And as regards the monastic property that has passed into the private hands of such persons as are associated with the Confederate Catholics, they suppliantly pray said Catholics to bestow on them for their subsistence some charitable aid, for they are unwilling to advance any more urgent claim lest perchance they should disturb in any respect or be an obstacle in the way of that peace and concord which all are anxious to promote."

A committee was appointed by the General Assembly to consider all such claims, and to suggest the proper course to be pursued in order to prevent controversies from arising in this matter of the ecclesiastical property. The committee after mature deliberation framed a series of resolutions which apparently were adopted alike by the representatives of the religious orders and by the General Assembly, and received the sanction of the representative of the Holy See:

1. The monastic and other religious bodies were authorised to take possession of any sites or enclosures of the monasteries and other religious houses belonging to their respective orders, which were actually in the hands either of Catholic individuals or of the Confederate State.

2. Should any controversy arise in regard to such sites or enclosures, arbitrators were to be chosen, and all parties should abide by their decision.

3. It was decreed that the tenth part of the tithes and lands appertaining to the monasteries should be assigned to the Abbots of said monasteries for the repairs of the buildings and for the general purpose of the maintenance of the religious.

4. As there were as yet but few of the monastic brethren in the kingdom, and as the monasteries were for the most part in good repair, the Supreme Council were to assign to the Abbots of said monasteries such sums as would suffice for the necessary repairs and the present maintenance of the religious brethren, and the residue of the tenth part of the tithes and lands was to be applied for other religious purposes, and in particular for the establishment of convents of Nuns, and of military hospitals for the Confederate troops.

5. As regards the mendicant orders, it was arranged that the tenth part of their former lands and tithes were to be assigned them, and as this revenue was small, whilst the Friars were very numerous in the kingdom, no portion of said tenths was to be applied to any other purpose.

6. It was declared lawful for the holders of the lands and tithes to come to terms with the Superiors of the Mendicant Orders, surrendering to them a portion of the lands adjoining the Religious houses, in compensation and acquittal of the tenths otherwise due.

7. Those who had purchased the lands or other property of the

Mendicant Orders could be compelled to surrender same, on condition that the respective religious orders would repay to the purchasers their outlay or the sums which they had expended: "And as Sir John Dungan, Knight, a neutral, though a Catholic, has let or sold the monastery of Lorrha to Cormac MacEgan, a Catholic and a Confederate, the said monastery is adjudged to the Friars of the order to which it belonged, in penalty of such transfer having been made since the commencement of the present war, to the prejudice of the said Religious."

A difficulty, however, arose as to the course to be pursued in regard to the old monastic buildings, which perchance had been kept in tolerable repair, but were now appropriated to other uses. Such was the case with the Carmelite Convent at Knocktopher. This was the head house of the order in Ireland, but in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign the religious brethren had been driven from it, and now, under the Confederate rule, it was in the hands of a Catholic named Thomas White, who used the buildings as a brewery. The Friars demanded possession of the premises, relying on the Rules which had been sanctioned relative to the old religious buildings, but White contended that his was quite an exceptional case, since the buildings had for a long time been used for secular purposes, and he refused to comply. Riotous proceedings ensued: and the place was taken and retaken by the friends of the rival claimants. The Bishop, Dr. Rothe, being appealed to in favour of the Religious, declined to interfere. The representative of the Holy See, to whom the case was next referred, appeared likewise disposed to decide the case in favour of Mr. White, who continued to hold possession of the place till monastery and brewery alike were swept away during the devastating march of the Cromwellian soldiers.

Another important question arose regarding the publication of the disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent. The Irish Bishops, as far as the calamitous times would permit, had endeavoured hitherto as best they could to conform the discipline of our suffering Church to the decrees of that General Council. In many of the dioceses, however, its disciplinary decrees had never been published, and, therefore, to remedy the defect it was proposed at a meeting of the four Archbishops and some other prelates, held in Waterford in November, 1643, that

the decrees of Trent should be solemnly promulgated for the whole kingdom, that thus a uniform discipline might be observed throughout the Irish Church. It was even proposed that a National Synod should be held, but since, in the opinion of Father Scarampo, the times would not permit of this, the Bishops assembled in Waterford deemed it sufficient to declare that they accepted and would endeavour to enforce the observance of all the decrees of Trent so far as the afflicted state of Ireland would permit, "qua status temporum practicari patientur." This resolution thus adopted in Waterford, was forwarded to all the Prelates who were absent, one of whom was the Bishop of Ossory. He appended his cordial adhesion to it with the following words, on the 23rd January, 1644:—

"Vista et lecta præsenti declaratione subscripta et approbata a tot Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, libenter eam approbo et confirmo meo nomine. Datum Kilkenniae, die 23, Januarii, anno 1643, stylo veteri. Et hanc meam confirmationem atque approbationem intelligo meo et cleri mei dioecesani nomine. David Episcopus Ossoriensis."

In almost all the other dioceses the decrees were accepted in somewhat similar terms. Some of the signatures attached to this Waterford resolution are particularly interesting as fixing beyond doubt the occupants of the Sees during the first years of the Confederation, and amongst them we find, for instance, Donald O'Griffin, Vicar Apostolic of Kilfenora, and Robert Barry, Vicar Apostolic of Ross. The names of Andrew Lynch, Vicar Apostolic of Killala, and James Fallon, Vicar Apostolic of Achonry, are absent, but the Archbishop of Tuam on the 20th January, 1644, added a memorandum to the effect that "for many years past the decrees of Trent had been published and observed in these two dioceses.—(*Rinuccini MSS.*)

It was not merely in religious matters that F. Scarampo, aided by his authority and council, the leaders of the confederate cause. He on some occasions wished even to share with the troops the privations and perils of the camp. During the siege of Bunratty, a strong fort which he considered of particular importance for the Confederates, he remained the whole time with the soldiers, and before the final assault which led to the surrender of the fort, he ordered a penitential religious procession to be made through the camp, at which he himself walked the whole way barefoot. The Confederate army, fired by his

words and his example, proved themselves on this occasion true catholic soldiers, and displayed all the devotion and heroism of the Maccabees of old. So beloved, indeed, had F. Scarampo become to both clergy and people in Ireland that they petitioned the Holy See to grant him the higher rank of Nuncio. This petition was welcome in Rome as a proof of the affection shown by our people to the Representative of his Holiness, but the post of Nuncio was reserved for another distinguished Prelate, to whom we will have frequently to refer in the following pages.

On the 3rd of November, 1644, another General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops, and other heads of the Clergy, was held in Kilkenny. They with one accord decreed that an authentic report should be drawn up from the particulars furnished by each Diocese, of the iniquitous deeds of cruelty perpetrated by the heretics against the Irish Catholics: "immanissima haereticorum facinora adversus Catholicos Hiberniae perpetrata." By another decree all preachers whether of the secular or regular clergy throughout the kingdom, were required to instruct their congregations as to the justice and lawfulness of the Confederate war, undertaken in defence of religion and country and the King's rights, against the envenomed Puritans and enemies of the Catholic faith (adversus venenatos puritanos et hostes fidei Catholicæ.) All persons presuming to preach or teach the contrary were to be regarded as enemies of the State, and as suspected of heresy, and to be punished accordingly with ecclesiastical censures. The same penalties were enacted against those of the clergy or laity who would oppose the laws and statutes sanctioned by the General Assembly or the Supreme Council, for the defence and Government of the Kingdom, and not otherwise contrary to the Ecclesiastical canons and ordinances. The illustrious Rev. Nicholas French, who was subsequently so distinquished in the history of this period as Bishop of Ferns, acted as Secretary of the Meeting, and there were present besides the Four Archbishops, the Bishops of Ossory, Killaloe, Waterford, Clonfert, and Down and Connor, the Procurators of the Bishops of Limerick and Emly, the Vicars Apostolic of Ross, Kilfenora and Killalla, and also James Dempsey, Vicar General of Kildare, Cornelius Gaffney, Vicar General of Ardagh, and Fr. John Henry, provincial of the Irish Augustinians. A few months later other general congregations of the clergy were held to deliberate on the questions that had arisen relat-

ing to the proposals for peace, but their discussions and deliberations belong rather to the secular history of the Confederate war.

On the 15th of September, 1644, Innocent the Tenth was chosen Sovereign Pontiff, and it was one of his first cares to select a distinguished Prelate who would discharge the responsible duties of Nuncio of the Holy See to the Confederated Catholics of Ireland. The first person chosen for this arduous post was Monsignor Luigi Omodei, a Milanese Prelate of noble birth who, a few years later, was promoted to the Cardinalate. He, however, was a Spanish subject, and it was feared that his appointment might give umbrage to France and some other Catholic powers, and in his stead Monsignor John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, was formally appointed Nuncio of the Holy See to Ireland. Born on the 15th of September, 1592, he was remarkable by the splendour of his birth, his brilliant talents, and his services and zeal in the cause of religion. His appointment was made in the month of March, 1645, but several delays occurred, and it was not till Monday, the 18th October, that he set sail from Rochelle in a pontifical frigate called the St. Peter. He ran many risks at sea, and was pursued for nine hours by a privateer vessel under the command of an apostate named Plunkett, who was notorious for his depredations at this period along the Irish coast. On Saturday, the 23rd of October, the Nuncio at length landed near Kenmare, and for a day or two enjoyed the hospitality of Donagh M'Carthy, the dynast of Glenruacht, who with right princely hospitality welcomed him to his castle at Ardcully. Thence the Nuncio proceeded by slow stages towards Limerick. At Drumsecane, twelve miles from Macroom, he was met by Colonel Richard Butler, an excellent Catholic (Catholicus perfectissimus, *Rinuccini MSS.*,) and brother of the Earl of Ormonde, together with Lord Netterville and Rev. Mr. Taylor, a secular priest. They came as representatives of the Supreme Council to congratulate the Nuncio on his safe arrival in the kingdom, and on account of the borders of Kerry and Cork being infested by predatory bands from the Puritan garrisons of Munster, Colonel Butler had under his command a picked body of cavalry which formed the Nuncio's escort to Limerick.

From the letters of the Nuncio we learn that he was forcibly struck by the grandeur of the scenery, the ruggedness of the roads, and the steepness of the mountain passes over which he travelled, but still

more by the fervent piety and devotedness of the people which made a most favourable impression on his mind. "You may be assured," he thus writes to the Cardinal Secretary of State, from Limerick, "that the inhabitants of this city, as, indeed, the people everywhere, have done as much to honour my coming, and have testified as deep a devotion to the Holy See as if His Holiness himself had arrived in Ireland; they have already done everything but sacrifice themselves for the holy cause, nor will even this be wanting if we are to judge by the demonstrations of affection that have been made."

On the 14th of November (old style), 1645, the Nuncio made his solemn entry into Kilkenny. I will give at full length from the Rinuccini MSS. the official account of his reception, which he forwarded to Rome, the more particularly as it differs in some details from the accounts hitherto published, and supplies many interesting details connected with our citizens at this eventful period. "The night before my arrival in Kilkenny I stopped at a villa about three miles from the town, to give time for the preparations for my reception. Here I was visited by four of the nobility, who, on the part of the Supreme Council, and accompanied by Mr. Bellings, again congratulated me on my arrival, and one of them, a literary man, made a short speech. The next day, having set out in my litter, all along the way for the three miles of journey I was met by the whole body of the nobility, and by the youth of Kilkenny and of the adjoining counties, who presented themselves marshalled in separate troops, and the leader of each troop dismounting, approached on foot to present their compliments to me. The first to present themselves were a band of fifty students on horseback, all armed with pistols, who after caracoling for a time around me conveyed their welcome through one of their number deputed for the purpose; he was crowned with a laurel wreath and richly robed, and he addressed some good verses to me. Outside the city gate, in the church of St. Patrick, were assembled the clergy, secular and regular, who on my arrival proceeded towards the city in solemn procession. At the gate the Corporation of the city were drawn up, and with them the Vicar-General in his robes, who presented to me the crucifix to kiss; and when I mounted on horseback, wearing the cappa and episcopal hat, the poles of the canopy were borne by some of the chief citizens, who, notwithstanding the rain, walked uncovered. The whole way to the Cathedral, which is,

perhaps, as long as the Via Lungara in Rome (about three quarters of a mile), was lined with soldiers on foot, bearing their muskets. In the centre of the city, at a very high cross where the citizens are wont to assemble, we all stopped, and a youth surrounded by a vast concourse pronounced an oration, after which we again moved on till we reached the Cathedral. At the church door the Bishop of Ossory, the ordinary of the diocese, though advanced in years, was vested with cope, and awaited me: he presented the aspersorium and incense, and conducting me to the high altar, recited the prayers prescribed in the Ceremonial, after which I gave the solemn blessing and published the Indulgences; and then another discourse was pronounced in honour of my arrival."

The castle of Ballybur, then belonging to the Comerford family, is pointed out as the villa at which the Nuncio rested the evening before he entered Kilkenny. In the city itself a house was prepared for him, which, to judge from the various references that are made to it, would appear to have been not far from the site of the present Victoria Hotel. In the contemporary records it is frequently referred to as being conveniently situated on the one hand in regard to St. Mary's church and on the other to the official residence of Lord Mountgarret. It is also described as a large and well-built mansion which could justly be called a palace; its garden stretched back to the city wall; and the city gate which lay beyond it is spoken of as one of the least frequented of the city entrances. The Nuncio in one of his letters speaks of his Kilkenny mansion as an excellent residence (assai buona abitazione), "which, as far as his means would permit, he had furnished with all possible propriety and taste:" and he takes care to add that "whatever may be wanting in these matters would be compensated by the edifying deportment and good example of those who had accompanied him."

After a few days rest, Monsignor Rinuccini, on the 20th November (old style) proceeded to pay a formal visit to Lord Mountgarret, the president of the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council on that day met by special arrangement at the Ormonde Castle, and the grand hall was laid out in its best for the occasion. We will describe this visit of ceremony in the Nuncio's own words: "General Preston and Viscount Muskerry, brother-in-law to Ormonde, having waited upon me in the name of the Council I set off on foot, accompanied

by the whole body of the nobility, the military lining the way at either side and I proceeded to the Castle, where the Council out of compliment to me had fixed their session for that day, the gallery, which forms a most beautiful hall, being specially arranged for the reception. At the foot of the staircase I was greeted by four other members of the Council, two of whom were the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel. At the head of the hall was seated Lord Mountgarret, President of the Council, who rose as I approached, but without advancing a single step from the place where he stood. A seat of red damask, enrichedwith gold and more ornamented than that of the President, was placed for me on his right hand, but it was so arranged as to face somewhat towards the left side, so that it might be said that neither of us occupied the centre. I made a grave discourse in Latin, setting forth the wishes, and intentions, and aims of His Holiness. I then had the Papal Brief and the letter of Cardinal Pamphili read, and at the close I added a few more words, after which I imparted to them all the Apostolic Benediction which was mentioned in the Brief. The Bishop of Clogher (Emer MacMahon, who a short time before had been translated from Down and Connor to the See of Clogher,) on foot and in ordinary Episcopal costume, spoke in response. Taking leave of the President, who again did not stir from his place, I was accompanied to the outer gate of the castle by the four members of the Council already referred to, and escorted by Preston and Muskerry with guards to the hall of my own house. They gave me to understand that as the President and I should necessarily have frequent private interviews, it would be desirable for me thus to take the initiative in paying this formal visit; and I acquiesced on account of his being the head of the Government to whom I am accredited, and in our dealings we have stood on a footing of perfeet equality. The whole ceremonial of this reception was prepared by Mr. Secretary Bellings, to whom, as being lately returned from Italy, and well acquainted with the Italian usages, the arrangement of these matters was entrusted."

In the History of Rinuccini's Nunciature, published in Italian by Aiazzi in Florence in 1844, and in English by Annie Hutton in Dublin in 1873, may be seen a long series of letters by Rinuccini, written for the most part from Kilkenny, and dealing with all the important political and religious questions that arose throughout this stormy period. It is to be regretted that the Italian text is at times,

especially where Irish proper names are concerned, hopelessly incorrect, and that the translatress, notwithstanding her praiseworthy zeal in undertaking such a task, has repeatedly failed to convey the meaning of the original text. From the Rinuccini MSS. I will select one of the letters of this series, and I have chosen it as well because it affords several interesting details regarding distinguished Ecclesiastics, some of whom were privileged a few years later to lay down their lives for the faith, as also for the reason that in its published Italian text, and still more so in its translation it has proved a source of bewilderment to those who in our own times have been endeavouring to illustrate the diocesan histories of our Irish Church. This letter is dated from Kilkenny the 31st December, 1645, and is addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State in Rome :

" When I least expected it, the Supreme Council sent me without notice the enclosed recommendations of persons for all the vacant dioceses in this kingdom : I have myself indeed substituted the word *recommendation*, for in the paper presented to me the word *election* was used, but I fully explained to the Secretary that this latter term could not be used. I cannot imagine any other reason why these gentlemen would thus of a sudden propose all at once to provide for so many sees, a matter they were hitherto so strongly opposed to, except that one gentleman may have made a beginning by proposing the appointment of some friend of his, and the others, not to be outdone, each proposed one of his own choice. Thirteen persons have been nominated, and three of these are proposed as Coadjutors, but perhaps these latter should await a separate provision, as their appointment may not be granted so readily. Of those whose names have been presented six belong to the Regular clergy, towards whom many persons are particularly well disposed, on accountof their interesting themselves and being very much mixed up in public affairs, having hitherto lived out of their convents. I will now give such information as is necessary regarding each of them, beginning with the first on the list.

" *Tuam.* The Bishop of Clonfert (who was recommended for that See), is a man of mature judgment and of most upright intentions but a little slow in expressing himself, and he is just at present laid up with a bad attack in the eyes, which may impair his sight."

" *Clonfert.* I was acquainted in Paris with F. Francis Hugh de

Burgo, brother of the last named Prelate, and he appeared to me a more energetic and able man; and I think if they have not recommended him directly for the See of Tuam, but rather for Clonfert, should it become vacant by the translation of his brother, it is merely as a matter of respect for the Prelate already consecrated."

"*Ardagh.* F. Patrick Plunkett, Cistercian Abbott, is well-deserving on his own account, but even more so through the merit of his brother, who is one of the most honoured members of the Council, and one of those best affected to the Catholic religion at present in the kingdom.

"*Coadjutor of Dublin.* Edward Tyrrel studied and laboured in Paris, where I met him; I have heard nothing of him here except that in the public negociations some of his proposals were considered to be too favourable to the King's party. But in regard to him the chief difficulty will be that he has been proposed as Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin, who has no ailment in fact but that of being exceedingly corpulent, and as the Confederates to our misfortune are not in possession of Dublin, the Archbishop only exercises jurisdiction in a small part of the Diocese.

"*Killalla.* Andrew Lynch has been for a long time Vicar Apostolic in this bishoprick, for which he is recommended, and he has proved himself a worthy man, but his disposition is more inclined to Christian simplicity than to the active life.

"*Emly.* Father Terence (O'Brien), Provincial of the Dominicans, is a man of prudence and sagacity, has been in Italy, and has had so much experience in the management of affairs that happy results might be expected from his appointment, whilst the Bishop who desires to have him as Coadjutor is in the worst possible state of health.

"*Ross.* Robert Barry has laboured a great deal in England, in Dublin, and in other missions, and is a man of such learning that he is fully equal to the charge, and everyone considers him deserving of it.

"*Dromore.* Father Oliver Darcy has had dealings with me several times during this month, and he likewise has laboured a great deal to promote the Catholic cause in Dublin. He is a great preacher, and adorned with many noble qualities, of which the best perhaps is that he is not ambitious nor seeking promotion, as I have been assured by various parties.

"*Derry*- Terence O'Kelly, I am told, has been already appointed by His Holiness, and awaits the Bulls, and hence I don't understand why his name is placed on the present list.

"*Down and Connor.* Of Terence O'Neil I have not any accurate information ; I belive that he is at present in Spain, and that he lived there with the late Earl of Tyrone.

"*Coadjutor of Elphin.* Of George Dillon also I have made but little inquiry, as the Bishop of Elphin who desires a Coadjutor does not appear to have any reason for asking assistance except that he suffers from sciatica and rides with great difficulty, whilst in other respects his age and strength appear to be quite equal to his work.

"*Kildare.* Father Joseph Everard is guardian here in Kilkenny, and his life gives great edification to everyone. His father suffered signally for the faith in the late persecutions, and I have already written of him to your Eminence at the request of those by whom he is proposed.

"*Achonry.* James Fallon has been for a long time Vicar General in this Diocese, and the people being greatly attached to him desire him for their pastor.

"This is all that I am as yet able to state in the discharge of the duties of my office in regard to each of the persons whose names have been proposed. The merciful God who has placed the supreme authority in the hands of His Holiness, will inspire him now, not only to meet the wishes of so many Dioceses, but also to elect those who are the most fit for the spiritual office. And for my part it shall be my duty to faithfully obey the commands of His Holiness, and to rejoice in being his representative in a country so far removed from all the rest of the world."

One of the first duties of the Nuncio after his arrival in Kilkenny was to preside at the solemn Dirge in St. Canice's Cathedral for Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam. The deceased Prelate was one of the few whom Rinuccini, before leaving Rome, was instructed to take council with in all questions of importance relating to Irish affairs. The Confederates in the west were disheartened at the surrender of Sligo into the hands of the Puritans, and the Archbishop had hurried home from Kilkenny to revive their courage, and to lead them to recapture that important town. Before setting out, however, on his journey, he assured his friends that he would see them no

more, and he made all the neeessary preparations for his approaching death. The members of the Council, and, indeed, all Kilkenny, assisted at his obsequies, and the faithful people throughout Ireland mourned his loss as a national calamity.

During the following months, amid all the distracting cares of his official post, the Nuncio found time to give a helping hand towards promoting piety among the citizens of Kilkenny. For instance on Quinquagessima Sunday, 1646, the Blessed Sacrament was, for the first time, solemnly exposed in St. Canice's cathedral: during the ceremony, a discourse in Latin was pronounced by the Nuncio, and special indulgences were granted by him to the faithful. It is also recorded that he introduced the pious custom of Italy of celebrating on the Fridays of the month of March, special devotions to commemorate the sacred Passion of our Saviour. The Nuncio himself presided at the devotions in the church of St. Mary's, and each day at their close gave a discourse in Latin to the assembled congregation. On Holy Thursday the sacred ceremonies were carried out in St. Canice's cathedral with unusual splendour. Owing to the infirmity of the Bishop the Nuncio pontificated in the presence of all the clergy and citizens. He blessed the sacred oils, sang the High Mass, and to commemorate the humility of our Saviour at the last supper, washed the feet of twelve poor men. For these privileged poor a banquet was prepared in a public hall in the Ormonde castle, where the Nuncio and some of the leading members of the Supreme Council served them at table. The old Priory of St. John's was at this time granted to the Jesuits, who opened schools and established a college there; and they took another house near St. Canice's Cathedral, "in domo Ecclesiae Cathredali vicina," probably where the Loretto convent now stands, which they used as a Noviciate for the Society in Ireland.

Throughout the year 1646, victories repeatedly smiled upon the armies of the Confederates, and gave fair promise of the ultimate triumph of the national cause. The most important victory was that of Benburb, gained by Owen Roe O'Neill, on the 5th of June, over the Puritans under command of General Munroe. An interesting account of this decisive battle will be found in the first volume of the Proceedings of this Archæological Society. Owen Roe himself in a letter to the Nuncio on the 9th of June, gave the following concise

account of his success: "On the 5th instant I measured swords with General Munroe. The action lasted four or five hours, with great slaughter, till it pleased Almighty God to give us the victory: to Him be the glory and praise, for ever and ever. The Puritans had ten regiments of foot, and twelve squadrons of horse, all of which have been annihilated. The standards, and cannon, with the tents, arms, provisions, and all the baggage, have fallen into the hands of our soldiers. The officers of the enemy are all either slain or made prisoners." Solemn thanksgiving for this victory was joyously celebrated in St. Canice's cathedral: the standards, after being borne in triumphant procession, were forwarded to Rome, and for a time were unfurled as trophies under the mighty dome of St. Peter's. This victory was the more important on account of the momentous issues then at stake. The Puritans were confident of success, and the Nuncio three years later, when all the circumstances were fully known to him, did not hesitate to write, "had the Puritans been victorious at Benburb the Catholic religion would have been exterminated from every corner of Ireland."

In the meantime the royal cause was tottering to its ruin in England. The king was himself a prisoner, his armies were defeated and scattered, and every fortress in the kingdom had passed into the hands of the Puritan enemy. Lord Ormonde and his friends became at length convinced that it was expedient to make peace in the king's name with the Irish Confederates. Several members of the Supreme Council were bound to Lord Ormonde by ties of blood and family friendship, and long before the Nuncio had landed in Ireland they were busily engaged in making secret arrangements for such a peace. When at length in the month of July, 1646, the General Assembly made known the terms of the peace privately agreed on, the Nuncio, with Owen Roe O'Neil and the great majority of the Ulster Catholic officers, protested against it, for it left unredressed almost all the grievances under which the Irish Catholics had been so long suffering. The majority of the Supreme Council, however, had already determined to accept these terms, and on the 1st of August the proclamation of Peace was made in Dublin by Lord Ormonde. The Nuncio happened at the time to be absent from Kilkenny, but the Bishop of Ossory, on the 3rd of August, ordered public prayers to be offered in the Cathedral in the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament,

and convened the clergy to deliberate on the course to be pursued. In their name, and strengthened by their Resolution, he waited on the Supreme Council and in most forcible terms exhorted them to preserve union in the Confederate ranks, which was the secret of their success, and he warned them of their dread responsibility should they attempt by discord to rend the seamless garment of Christ. All exhortation, however, was in vain, and the very next day the Peace with Lord Ormonde was with great military display publicly ratified and proclaimed in Kilkenny. Before the close of the month of August, Ormonde, now acknowledged as Viceroy, accompanied by a select body-guard of a thousand men, besides 500 infantry and 200 horse made his triumphal entry into Kilkenny. Nothing was left undone by the citizens to add eclat to his reception. Eloquence and poetry had each their part, and through the popular applause the welcome was as enthusiastic as the most ambitious could have asked for. The Catholic clergy took no part in the public pageant. Such, it was said, was the Viceroy's pleasure, who feared lest their recognition on this solemn occasion might add fuel to the flame of the Puritan irritation in England. However, a few days later, the Bishop, Dr. Rothe, and some of the leading clergy paid him a formal visit of ceremony at the castle. No sooner was Lord Ormonde returned to Kilkenny than a number of Protestant ministers began to make their appearance to the great annoyance of the citizens: the more so as they loudly talked of resuming possession of the Catholic churches and checking the growth of popery.

In the meantime the Nuncio and the Representatives of the Episcopal Body assembled in Waterford published their protest against the Peace, and declared it to be, on the part of the Supreme Council and those who adhered to them, a breach of the public trust, a betrayal of the nation's confidence, and a violation of the Confederate oath. The vast majority of the people heartily concurred with the clergy in this condemnation, and Owen Roe, with his northern troops, began his march through Westmeath towards Kilkenny to lend his aid to enforce it. Ormonde on his part was not idle. He summoned the nobility of Munster and Connaught to meet him at Cashel on the 10th of September; only a few, however, obeyed him. When he himself set out on his journey thither, he sent notice to the town of Clonmel to be prepared for his reception. But the gates of

that strong town were closed against him on his approach. As he continued his journey towards Cashel, a formal notice on the part of its citizens was given that he would not be allowed to enter there. He therefore turned aside to one of his family mansions near Carrick, and thence sent back the Earl of Castlehaven to Kilkenny to announce his immediate return. However, from Kilkenny, too, the tidings were received that it would not be safe for him to prolong his stay there, the more so as the advance of Owen Roe's army into Westmeath was now confirmed. On receipt of this news, Ormonde. without a moment's delay, fled to Dublin. A contemporary record thus describes his flight: "Ormonde neither stayed for horse or foot, but gave orders to follow in all haste to Dublin; but he that had the best horse, or a good pair of heels, was reputed a happy man; arriving to Grangebegg, near Sliaverue, very little odds had the very best horse of the foot, such was their fear that it added wings unto their sandy feet; the ministers that last week were as peremptory in Kilkenny as at any time since the suppression of religion did now change habits to dissemble what they were." Cox, in his History of Ireland, states that Ormonde on the first night of his flight rested at Callan, and on the second night at Leighlinbridge, whence through the counties of Carlow and Kildare he pursued his journey with safety to Dublin. He adds that Lord Digby and his servants, whom the Viceroy had sent to Kilkenny to make preparations for his intended return, found "this inconsistent city, which few days before had received the Lord Lieutenant with acclamations of joy, pulling down the monuments of his entertainment, viz., the devices on the gates and market-cross, and other matters of pageantry, and expressing as much passion and malice against him, that most of his servants were forced to withdraw, and those few that staid were obliged to remain incognito." (part 2, pag. 169). This change in the dispositions of the citizens was probably in no small part owing to the determined course which the bishop, Dr. Rothe, though weighed down by years and infirmities had deemed it his duty to adopt. No sooner was the decision of the Nuncio and the Bishops who assembled in Waterford conveyed to him, than he published the following sentence of Interdict:

"Whereas we have in public and private meetings, at several times, declared to the Supreme Council and others whom it may concern, that it was and is unlawful and against conscience, the

implying perjury (as it hath been defined by the special Act of the Convocation at Waterford) to both commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and mischievous Peace, so dangerous (as it is now articled) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal; And whereas notwithstanding our declaration, yea, the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom, to the contrary, the Supreme Council and the Commissioners have actually proceeded to the publication, yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people. We having duly considered and taken it to heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this fact is and appears in Catholics, even against God himself, and what a public contempt of the holy Church it appeareth, besides the evil it is like to draw upon this poor kingdom, after a mature deliberation and consent of our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the Supreme Council, and others who have adhered to them, in matters of conscience to the holy Church, and in hatred of so hurtful and abominable an act, do by these presents, according to the prescription of the Sacred Canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general cessation of Divine Offices throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, Monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever. Given at our Palace of Nova Curia, the 18th of August, 1646. David Ossoriensis."

The peace which had been so inconsiderately entered into with Lord Ormonde, and the angry discussions to which it gave rise, laid bare to the world the jealousies, and rivalries, and dissensions which had for some time prevailed in the ranks of the Confederates. The old Irish families and the Anglo-Irish were marshalled into rival camps, united, indeed, by the common bond of religion, but conflicting in almost everything else. The military leaders of the former had conducted the war with vigour and success against the enemies of religion and country: they had bravely met the Puritan armies on many a battlefield, and by their heroism had won the confidence and applause of the nation. However, they preferred the camp to the assembly hall, many of them were not familiar with the English language in which the debates were conducted, and they were strangers to the court intrigues carried on at the seat of Government. The Anglo-Irish officers, though also at times suc-

cessful, had met with several disastrous defeats which gave occasion to distrust and suspicions of treachery. Nevertheless, they held the chief offices of State, and the administration of the Confederate Government was almost exclusively in their hands. Many of them viewed with no little alarm the uniform success of Owen Roe O'Neil, for they feared lest the Irish leaders, with arms in their hands, and flushed with victories, would demand to have the rich estates restored to them of which their ancestors had been deprived, and which had passed into the possession of the Anglo-Irish families. It was partly for this reason that they were now ready to accept any terms of peace which Ormonde in the king's name might be disposed to grant. In the articles of the Peace there were but few concessions that could be construed as favourable to the Catholic cause. The oath of royal supremacy as commanded in the second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was no longer to be required from Irish Catholics, and the refusal of it was not to be a disqualification from the civil or military offices: but an offensive clause was added to the effect that the benefit of this concession should be withheld from Protestants embracing the Catholic faith. It was agreed that all the decrees and ordinances made against the Irish Catholics since the beginning of this Confederate war should be annulled: and further, that "the natives of this kingdom were to be enabled to erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the city of Dublin, and that such students, natives of this kingdom, as shall be therein, may take and receive the usual degrees accustomed in any Inns of Court, they taking the oath of allegiance: and that they may erect one or more Universities, to be governed by such rules or orders as His Majesty shall appoint." The other articles of the peace were purely political, securing considerable advantages to the Anglo-Irish gentry in the undisturbed possession of their estates, but leaving completely out in the cold the old Irish families of Ulster. The report indeed was industriously circulated that other important concessions in the matter of religion would hereafter be granted by the king, and private assurances were conveyed through the Earl of Glamorgan specifying these concessions. However, the past experience had made the Irish people and clergy chary and suspicious of such assurances, and there was no guarantee that as had hitherto so often happened in the dealings of

the Crown with Ireland, these promises would not be forgotten or denied as soon as the political ends were attained for which alone such promises were made.

On the 19th of September the Nuncio returned to Kilkenny from Waterford. The rejoicings which greeted the Viceroy a few weeks before were now renewed to welcome the Representative of the Holy See, and the Citizens, by the exuberance of their joy, sought to atone for their former weakness. "Cives incredibili Nuncium exceperunt applausu, cui eadem inserviebant ornamenta et apparatus atque ingeniorum foetus, quibus ante dies paucos etiam iidem ad Proregis appulsum vel exultabant vel assentabantur." (*Rinuccini MSS.*) In the luggage abandoned by Ormonde in his flight were found seventeen cassocks for Protestant clergy, and an Irish wolf-dog. We are not told what use was made of the former, but the latter was reserved as a special gift for the Nuncio. The kings of England had often presented an Irish wolf-dog as a royal gift to the continental sovereigns, but the race must have at this period become exceedingly rare in the island. This was the first wolf-dog that the Nuncio had seen, and he admired it beyond measure. In his MSS. memoirs it is described as "generosissimus molossus Ibernicus, ad lupos, cervosque cursu, pugna et viribus superandos aptissimus, animal majestate, magnitudine, quae Iberniae proprietas est, coloris mirifica variegatione, et membrorum proportione adeo pretiosum, ut donum fuerit cuivis Imperatori praesentandum." This Irish wolf-dog was kept by the Nuncio with the greatest care: he brought it with him on his return to Italy, and presented it as a highly-prized gift to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. By the Peace proclaimed with Lord Ormonde, the General Assembly and Supreme Council had been dissolved, and the reins of authority transferred to the Viceroy. In consequence of his flight the Confederates were practically left without any definite form of government: there was, in fact, no head to guide the army or to control the state. To remedy this evil the Nuncio, and Bishops, and Clergy assembled in Kilkenny, chose four representatives from each province to form a temporary council, who, till the meeting of the new General Assembly, would guide the helm of the state. The following were the persons thus selected: The Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Clonfert, Clogher, and Ferns; the Earl of Glamorgan, the Viscount

Roche, General Owen Roe O'Neill, General Preston, Oliver Plunkett, Baron of Louth; Alexander MacDonnel, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Robuck Lynch, Daniel O'Sullevan Beare, Dermid O'Shaughnessy, and Pierce Butler. They chose the Nuncio as their President, a post which he accepted with reluctance. As President he took care never to act alone, and not to sign a single order even in the most trifling matter except when ratified by the signatures of the other members of the Council; and at the first meeting of the Assembly he publicly resigned this anxious charge, with a protest that, as Representative of the Holy See, he did not advance even the smallest claim to jurisdiction in temporal matters.

The Nuncio did not allow the public duties of State to distract his attention from religious exercises. Public prayers were ordered throughout the Kingdom that God might give His blessing to His people. On each Friday there was solemn Exposition of the most Holy Sacrament in St. Mary's church, followed by a latin discourse from the Nuncio. The 4th of October, feast of St. Francis, falling on Sunday in 1646, and being the anniversary of the coronation of the reigning Pontiff, Innocent the Tenth, was celebrated with special pomp. The Nuncio pontificated at High Mass in the Franciscan Church, and the Mayor and the Corporation, and various officials of the State assisted at it. In the evening a grand display of fireworks in front of the Nuncio's residence lent a pleasing variety to the celebration, and brought the popular rejoicings to a close. In the month of December he held a public ordination in the Black Abbey Church, the first that had been witnessed in Kilkenny since the beginning of the Reformation. The Christmas festival was also celebrated with unprecedented solemnity. On the eve of the feast, the Nuncio sang the first Vespers in St. Mary's Church; at midnight he assisted pontifically at Matins and Lauds and celebrated Mass with the Jesuits in St. John's Church; and at mid-day he was again the celebrant at Pontifical High Mass in St. Canice's Cathedral. The Bishop, Dr. Rothe, though himself unable through age and infirmities to pontificate, was present at all these ceremonies.

On the 10th of January, 1647, the newly elected General Assembly met in Kilkenny. For about three weeks they discussed the proposals of the late Peace, which the former Supreme Council had entered into with Ormonde, and they agreed by an almost unanimous vote to

sanction the course pursued by the clergy and the Nuncio, condemnatory of that Peace. Four copies of the Roll of members of this General Assembly have come down to us; of these one has been published by De Burgo in the Supplement to the Hibernia Dominicana, pag. 884, another by Ledwich in 'Antiquities,' pag. 470, a third by Mr. Gilbert in the 2nd volume of Bellings' History of the Confederate War, whilst I have met with a fourth copy among the Troy MSS. it having been copied in the last century from the Wadding papers in Rome. Each text records some names omitted in the rest, and from all four I have compiled the following list :—

"THE SPIRITUAL PEERS:

Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh.
Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel.
Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
John de Burgo, Bishop of Clonfert.
John O'Mollony, Bishop of Killaloe.
Richard Connell, Bishop of Ardfert.
Emer MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher.
Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns.
Edmund O'Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin.
Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick.
Arthur Magennis, Bishop of Down and Connor.

"THE TEMPORAL PEERS:

Alexander M'Donnell, Earl of Antrim.
Christopher Plunkett, Earl of Fingall.
Maurice Roche, Viscount Fermoy.
Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret.
Theobald Dillon, Viscount Costellogh-gallen.
John Netterville, Viscount Netterville.
Donat MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry.
Pierce Butler, Viscount Ikerrin.
Lewis O'Dempsey, Viscount Clanmalier.
Edward Butler, Viscount Galmoy.
Bryan Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory.
Francis Birmingham, Baron of Athenry.
Oliver Plunkett, Baron of Louth.
William de Burgo, Baron of Castleconnell.

COMMONS:

Allen John, of Allenstown.
Archer Patrick, of Kilkenny.
Archer Walter, of Kilkenny.
Ash Clement, of Ellistown.
Babe Patrick, of Dromiskin.
Baggot John, of Baggotstown.
Bagnall Thomas, of Tullofelin.
Bagnall Walter, of Dunleckney.
Barnett James, of Grangemore.
Barnwall George, of Crickstown.
Barnewall Henry, of Castle Rickard.
Barnewall Patrick, of Kilbrew.
Baron Geoffry, of Clonmel.
Barry Gerald, of Lisgriffin.
Barry Thomas, of Pricetown.
Bath Peter, of Kilkenny.
Bath Robert, of Clanturk.
Bellew John, of Lisrannay.
Bellew Thomas, of Bellewstown.
Bellings Richard, of Tyrrellstown.
Birmingham Christopher, of Corballis.
Birmingham Edward, of Curraghton.
Birmingham John, of Galway.
Birmingham William, of Parsonstown.
Byrne Bryan, of Ballinacorr.
Byrne Bryan, of Rodine.
Byrne James, of Ballyaccide.
Byrne John, of Ballyglanny.
Blake Francis, of Galway, Alderman.
Blake Robert, of Galway.
Bodkin Dominick, of Galway.
Brenan John, of Cloynefinlough.
Brian Daniel, of Carrinkichilly.
Briver Matthew, of Ross.
Brown Edward, of Galway.
Brown Geoffry, of Galway.

Brown Sylvester, of Dublin.
Bryan Patrick, of Lismayne.
Burke John of Castlecarre.
Burke Richard, of Drumruiske.
Burke John, of Killeuly.
Burke, Theobald, of Buolybruk.
Burke Ulic of Glinsk.
Burke William, of Pollardstown.
Butler Edmond, of Idough.
Butler James, of Swyneone.
Butler John, of Foulsterstown.
Butler Pierce, of Baneseagh.
Butler Pierce, of Barrowmount.
Butler Pierce, of Cahir.
Butler Richard, of Knocktopher, Knight.
Butler Richard, of Carrickytherricke.
Butler Theobald, of Rathvilly.
Butler Thomas, of Ballinakill.
Butler Thomas of Kilconnell.
Butler Walter, of Paulstown, Baronet.
Carew Connell, of Mobarnayne.
Carroll John, of Lep.
Cheevers Arthur, of Ballyseskin.
Clinton Peter, of Dardystown.
Colclough Anthony, of Rathclin.
Comerford Edward, of Callan.
Comyn Edmond, of Inchybeg.
Comyn George, of Limerick.
Cowley Andrew, of Kilkenny.
Connery, David, of Dalleane.
Cruise Walter, of Arlonan.
Cusack James, of Kilkenny.
Darcy Patrick, of Galway.
Dempsey Barnabas, of Clonahork.
Devereux Nicholas, of Ballymageire.
Devereux Robert, of Ballyshannon.
Dillon Edmond, of Streamstown.
Dillon James, of Killenure.
Dillon James, of Clongassel.

Dillon John, of Streamstown.
Dillon Lucas, of Loughglin.
Donnel Allen, of Montagh.
Dongan Edward, of Greydenstown
Dongan Gerrald, of Castletown.
Dongan Thomas, of Grangebeg.
Dongan Walter, of Castletown.
Dormer Michael, of Rosse.
Dowd Edward, of Porterstown.
Dowd Thomas, of Rosslin.
Dowdall Laurence, of Athlumney.
Doyle James, of Carrick.
Doyne Terence, of Kilkevan.
Duffe Patrick, of Rosspatrick.
Duire Philip, of Dundrum.
Everard Richard, of Everard's Castle.
Estmond Thomas, of Ffardletown.
Fallon Stephen, of Athlone.
Fallon William, of Milltown.
Fanning Geoffrey, of Gleanagall.
Fanning Patrick, of Limerick.
Fennell Gerald, of Ballygriffin.
Finglass John, of Walspelstown.
Fitzgerald Christopher, of Cloynelonan.
Fitzgerald Edmond, of Clenglish.
Fitzgerald Edmond, of Ballymartyr.
Fitzgerald Edmond, of Ballinrillie.
Fitzgerald Edmond, of Brownsford.
Fitzgerald Gerald of Clonyad.
Fitzgerald Gerald, of Timoge.
Fitzgerald Luke, of Ticrogan.
Fitzgerald Mathew, of Gobinstown.
Fitzgerald Maurice, of Allane.
Fitzgerald Nicholas, of Marmayne.
Fitzgerald Pierce, of Ballyshannon.
Fitzgerald Thomas, of Broghall.
Fitzharris Mark, of Cloghinotfoy.
Fitzharris Nicholas, of Ross.

Fitzhenry Nicholas, of Mormaine.
Fitzmaurice Edmond, of Tyburry.
Fitzmaurice Gerald, of Galey.
Fitzpatrick Edward, of Banoch.
Fitzpatrick Florence, of Lisdunvarney.
Flatisbury Philip, of Dremanstown.
Fleming Thomas, of Cabra.
Flin Fiagher, of Ballinlagha.
French Christopher, of Galway.
French James, of Galway.
Furlong Mark, of Wexford.
Garvey John, of Lehens.
Geoghegan Patrick, of Kilmainham.
Goold John, of Cork.
Gough Patrick, of Kilmanihan.
Grady Henry, of Lisgarra.
Hadsor John, of Keppoke.
Haly John, of Limerick.
Haly Nicholas, of Towerin.
Hartpole Robert, of Shrule.
Hay Michael, of Wexford.
Hennessy Charles, of Capperquin.
Heynes Thomas, of Fethard.
Higgins Daniel, of Limerick.
Hoare William, of Cork.
Hoare William, of Harperstown.
Hollywood Christopher, of Artane.
Hope Alexander, of Ballymacfearagh.
Hope John, of Martinstown.
Hore Mathew, of Dungarvan.
Hore Philip, of Kilsalchan.
Hurley Maurice, of Kilduffe.
Kealy Edmond, of Gowran.
Kearney Philip, of Knockelly.
Keeffe Daniel, Dromagh.
Kelly William, of Gowran.
Kinsly Eneas, of Ballinecarrigy
Kirwan Patrick, of Galway.

Lacy John, of Bruff.
Lalor Denis, of Ballyrory.
Langton William, of Kilkenny.
Lynch Christopher, of Galway.
Lynch Martin, of Galway.
Lynch Nicholas, of Galway.
Lynch Robuck, of Galway.
MacAlpin Nicholas, of Moy.
MacCartan Hugh, of Largline.
M'Carthy Charles, Reagh.
M'Carthy Daniel, More.
M'Carthy Daniel, of Ballincarrig.
M'Carthy Dermod, of Cantwyrk.
M'Carthy Teige, of Kilsallynay.
M'Donnell James, of Muff.
M'Geoghegan Charles, of Dromore.
M'Geoghegan Connel, of Donore.
M'Geoghegan Edward, of Tyroterine.
M'Geoghegan Richard, of Moycashel.
MacNamara Daniel, of Down.
MacNamara John, of Moyriortky.
Magennis Arthur, of Ballynafarney.
Magennis Conn, of Lisnatierney.
Magennis Daniel, of Glasca.
Magennis Ever, of Castlewillan.
Magennis Hugh, of Illanmoyle.
Martin Anthony, of Galway.
Moore Roger, of Ballinakill.
Nangle Roger, of Glynmore.
Neile, Bryan, of Ballyboy.
Netterville Patrick, of Belgart.
Netterville Richard, of Belgart.
Nugent Pierce, of Ballynacurr.
Nugent Richard, Ffaroe.
O'Boyle Tirlogh, of Ballymore.
O'Bryan Christopher, of Induquin.
O'Bryen Connor, of Ballymacody.
O'Brien Dermod, of Dromore.

O'Brian Hugh, of Carnow.
O'Bryan Martin, of Cullen.
O'Bryan Matthew, of Armagh.
O'Callaghan Callaghan, of Castle McAuliffe.
O'Callaghan Donat, of Clonmeen.
O'Cavanagh Daniel, of Clonmulbin.
O'Cavanagh Murtagh, of Garyhill.
O'Connor Daniel, of Carrickicholly.
O'Connor Hugh, of Ballintobber.
O'Connor Roe, Teige, of Ballynafad.
O'Connor, Teige, of Sligo.
O'Donnell Hugh, of Ramalton.
O'Donnelly Patrick, of Dungannon.
O'Dowde Thady, of Rosbur.
O'Farrell Daniel, of Enniscorthy.
O'Farrell Fergus, of Bleanvohir.
O'Farrell Francis, of Moate.
O'Hanly Thady, of Colrane.
O'Kearney James, of Ballyeuskey.
O'Kelly Daniel, of Colengeere.
O'Kelly John, of Corbeg.
O'Meara Thomas, of Borskin.
O'Mihan John
O'Neil Henry, of Glassedroman.
O'Neil Henry, of Kilbegs.
O'Neil Phelim, of Knockley.
O'Neil Turlogh, of Ardgonell.
O'Neill Tordall, of Ballicushlane.
O'Rody Teige
O'Ronane Francis, of Kilkenny.
O'Rourke Hugh, of Cooncrena.
O'Rourke Hugh, of Dromoghir.
O'Rourke Hugh, of Cownatowra.
O'Rourke Owen, of Dromoghir.
O'Ryan Thomas, of Doone.
O'Shaugnessy Dermod, of Gort.
O'Sullivan More, Dermid, of Dunkerron.
O'Sullivan Daniel, of Culmagort.

Plunkett Ambrose, of Courtnaboly.
Plunkett Nicholas, of Belrath.
Power David, of Clonmore.
Power John, of Kilmeadon, Co. Waterford.
Prendergast James, of Tulloghmolane.
Preston James, of Gormanstown.
Preston Robert, of Gormanstown.
Purcell Patrick, of Cruagh.
Purcell Robert, of Curry.
Reynolds Charles, of Jamestown.
Rice Edward, of Dingle.
Roche David, of Glanore.
Roche John, of Castletown.
Roche Redmond, of Cahirdowgan.
Roche Thomas, of the fort of Duncannon.
Rochfort Hugh, of Tagonan.
Rochfort Jenico, of Kilbride.
Roth J., Mayor of Kilkenny.
Roth Peter, of Kilkenny.
Russel George, of Rathmolin.
St. Laurence Christopher, of Crucetown.
Sanky Nicholas, of Ballylargin.
Seston H., of Burise.
Shee Edward, of Kilkenny.
Shee Robert Fitzwilliam, of Kilkenny.
Shee Walter, of Trim.
Slingsby H., of Kilmore.
Stackpoole Bartholomew, of Limerick.
Stafford Richard FitzRichard, of Wexford.
Stanley Walter, of Kilkenny.
Strange Richard, of Rockswell Castle.
Sutton William, of Ballykeroge, Co. Wexford.
Talbot Robert, of Castle Talbot.
Tyrrell Thomas, of Kilbride.
Wadding Richard, of Ballycogly.
Wadding Thomas, of Waterford.
Wall Garret, of Ballinakill.
Walsh John, of Ballybotha.

Walsh John, of Waterford.
Walsh Pierse, of Rath.
Warren Alexander, of Churchtown.
Warren Edmond, late of Dublin.
Warren William, of Castletown.
Weldon James, of Newry.
White John, of Clonmel.
Wogan Nicholas, of Rathcoffy.
Wolverton Francis, of Newtown.
Young William, of Cashel.

In the list of the members of the General Assembly published by Ledwich only 251 names are given. In Mr. Gilbert's list several names are twice inserted. The Nuncio writing from Kilkenny on 4th February, 1647, a few days after the General Assembly had met, set down the number of members at 300; and the corrected list which we have given corresponds to that statement.

The first important matter to engage the attention of the new General Assembly was the peace concluded with Lord Ormonde by the late Supreme Council. For three weeks the angry discussion was carried on. "The Assembly," thus writes the Nuncio, "commenced its session with all those signs of discord and intrigues which generally reign in such meetings, and consequently there was great danger of an open rupture between the two parties. On the one side were the clergy with their adherents, on the other the Ormondists and all who had promoted or were interested in the peace. These last had two objects in view: one common to the whole faction, to force upon the kingdom the acceptance of the peace, in spite of the declarations of the clergy; the other touching those alone who had taken part in it, who wished to clear themselves from the charge of perjury laid against them by the clergy in their manifesto, and to show that they had throughout acted honourably and with good faith." The Nuncio himself made a remarkable speech, in which, after assigning his reasons for rejecting the peace as deceptive and illusory, he declared that his Holiness continued to take the deepest interest in Irish affairs: he had received with the greatest joy the announcement of the victories over the Puritan enemy, for which he not only returned thanks to God, but desired that the standards taken from the enemy might be sent to Rome, there to be hung up in one of the basilicas as a

perpetual memorial and incitement to assist the cause of Ireland. He had now sent additional supplies for the Irish troops, and even more might be confidently expected. When it came to the vote, out of the three hundred members of the General Assembly, twelve only were found to favour the peace, whilst all the rest approved of the course pursued by the clergy in rejecting it. This, however, was accompanied by a declaration exculpating from all blame those who had negociated the peace, in that they had acted for the best, and had had in view solely the interests of the kingdom. The members of the late General Assembly were at once set free from the nominal imprisonment to which they were subjected pending this discussion, and were soon after restored to their former high positions of trust in the administration of the government.

It is, however, on the religious proceedings of this period that I would particularly wish to dwell. The city of Kilkenny had from olden times cherished a particular piety towards the Blessed Virgin. As soon as the Confederate Government was duly constituted in 1642, and the citizens had begun to apply themselves anew to works of peace, they resolved that the Virgin Mother of God should with due public solemnity be proclaimed the special patroness of their city. During the eight days that preceded the appointed feast (the 15th August) all the citizens devoted themselves to works of piety and penance, and disposed themselves to worthily approach the holy sacraments. High Mass was celebrated with all possible pomp in St. Mary's. The church was decorated with every emblem of religious rejoicing, and a silver statue of the Blessed Virgin, presented to that church as a votive offering, was placed upon the altar, surrounded with relics of the saints, for the veneration of the faithful. In the evening, after a sermon on the privileges of the Mother of God, the statue was borne through the city in suppliant procession, in which the Bishop and clergy, with the nobility, the Mayor and Corporation, and the leading citizens, took part. The statue was placed in a shrine of exquisite and costly workmanship at the market-cross, whilst the bells of all the churches, and the pealing of cannon and volleys of musketry enlivened the popular jubilee. The Litany of our Lady of Loretto was then sung, and later in the evening festive bonfires lit up the whole city. The public devotions at the market-cross were continued every Saturday. The contemporary narrative

adds that a "wonderful reformation was speedily effected; the wicked habit of swearing and blasphemy was completely suppressed; the sacraments were frequented. Such was the devotion to the B. Virgin, that, morning, noon, and evening pious people were to be seen—men, women, and children—in the streets, on their knees, even in the rain, praying before the statue." The General Assembly elected in 1647 would not yield to its predecessors in devotion, and resolved by one of its first acts to place this Catholic kingdom and the war in which they were engaged under the patronage of the B. Virgin. They further wished by public procession, in which all the clergy and people took part, on Sunday, the 30th of January, to fulfil a vow of thanksgiving for past success, and to invoke the all-powerful aid of their heavenly Protectress for the future. The procession, with religious banners unfurled, and the insignia of the various guilds and trades, and attended by the military, wended its way through the city to St. Mary's church. There, before the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, the Litany and other devout prayers were sung; and thence, the Vicar-General bearing the silver statue, the procession proceeded to the Nuncio's residence, and in its halls, amid a profusion of lights and rich decorations, the statue of our Lady was enshrined. It remained there till the 2nd of April, when the whole General Assembly, before adjourning their sessions for the summer months, with the same solemnity restored the statue to its place in St. Mary's church.

The General Assembly before adjourning elected twenty-four members to form the Supreme Council, four of whom were Bishops and four temporal Peers, with the same powers as the former Supreme Council. The 17th of March, feast of St. Patrick, was fixed for the inauguration of the new council. The Nuncio resolved that the civil ceremony should again be sanctified by public devout exercises. The Forty-hours Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, for the first time in Ireland, was solemnized in St. Mary's church, commencing on St. Patrick's day, and was attended by an immense concourse "cleri populique concursu prope infinito."—(*Rinuccini MSS.*) A Plenary Indulgence was granted on the occasion, and at the close of the Forty Hours the Nuncio delivered a Latin oration, congratulating the citizens on their piety and exhorting them to perseverance in prayer, that the blessing of concord and charity, together with true

zeal for religion and country, might mark the proceedings of the newly-inaugurated Government.

For some time the Confederate cause continued to prosper. The citizens of Kilkenny gave proofs of the greatest heroism; they worked by day and by night at the fortifications of the city, and the Nuncio relates that not only the lay citizens, men and women, took part in this work, but the religious also, and in particular the Jesuit scholastics had their share, a certain number being allotted for each day, who, preceded by the military band, marched to their respective tasks, bearing the spades on their shoulders. The Ulster army had hitherto been distinguished by its persevering devotedness and bravery, and so pleased were the friends of Ireland in Rome with the heroism thus displayed that they procured the two-handed battle-sword of the renowned O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and sent it, accompanied by the Blessing of the Sovereign Pontiff, to Owen Roe, the worthy heir of the old chieftain's name and genius. Some who were envious of Owen Roe's military fame took occasion from this to complain that the gift of the sword was but a prelude and preparation for presenting him at another day the sceptre of Ireland. As a sample of the arts employed to stir up envy against the successful Irish commander, I may cite the following doggerel lines widely circulated among the Anglo-Irish representatives at this time, a copy of which is preserved in the Rinuccini MSS.:—

The sanguine hands of the O'Nellian sept
Have now received the Papal gifts long kept,
Earl Hugh, to whom the Phœnix plume was sent
Among the birds on earth most eminent,
And to his nephew Owen a sword is come,
The Hercules both of the world and Rome,
And expect a further present, what?
The Imperial sceptre of O'Neill's lost State,
Left with the Pope to keep, with reason then
The Pope should not restore the same again.

If, however, the Ulster army had been remarkable for its success, the Anglo-Irish troops were not without their victories. In particular General Preston gained some advantages in Leinster. The most important of these was the surrender of Carlow. Its fort commanding the bridge over the Barrow was remarkably strong, but after a bril-

liant siege the garrison surrendered. As soon as the news reached Kilkenny on the 3rd of May, feast of Holy Cross, 1647, a solemn Te Deum in thanksgiving was sung in St. Mary's church in the presence of the Supreme Council and the civic authorities; and great was the rejoicing that the town which "for a hundred and ten years had been a nest of heresy" (*Rinuccini MSS.*), and which was the only place of any importance in Leinster outside of Dublin now siding with the enemy, was at length secured for the Confederate cause. A few days later, on the 8th of May, a Provincial Synod of the Bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Leinster was celebrated in Kilkenny under the presidence of Archbishop Fleming. Its acts have not been preserved, but it is recorded that twelve decrees were therein enacted to promote the observance of discipline, and to renew the spirit of piety of the clergy and faithful throughout the several dioceses of the province.

The Nuncio soon after his arrival in Ireland had forwarded, as we have already seen, several names of distinguished Ecclesiastics who were recommended by the Supreme Council for the vacant Sees. However, month after month passed on, and no tidings came that the wished-for appointments were made. In addition to the usual delays attendant on such important matters, new difficulties had arisen in consequence of the dissensions and animosities which prevailed among the Confederates. At length, early in the year 1647 the first Bishops were appointed and duly proclaimed in the public Consistory in Rome, but the communications between Italy and Ireland were now so uncertain and so frequently interrupted that the Briefs nominating to the various Bishoprics were delayed for full twelve months, and it was not till the months of March, April, and May, in 1648, that to the great joy of the faithful, the newly appointed Bishops were consecrated for the widowed Sees. The Rinuccini MSS. mark the time and place at which each of these Prelates received the rite of consecration at the hands of the Nuncio and assistant Bishops. Thus in Waterford, the Cistercian Abbot, Patrick Plunkett, was consecrated for the See of Ardagh, on Sunday, the 19th of March: a few days later, on the 25th of March, Fr. Boetius Mac Egan, O.S.F., was consecrated for Ross, and the Rev. Robert Barry (who had been recommended for the See of Ross) was consecrated for Cork: on Easter Sunday, 2nd of April, Fr. Terence O'Brien O.S.D., was consecrated for Emly,

and Father Anthony MacGeoghegan, O.S.F., for Clonmacnoise; and on the following Sunday the Rev. Walter Lynch was consecrated for the See of Clonfert. Kilkenny had its own share in these festive solemnities. In St. Canice's cathedral were assembled the members of the Supreme Council and all the worthiest of our citizens to assist at the consecration of Rev. Andrew Lynch for Kilfenora, on Sunday, the 23rd of April; of the Cistercian F. Arthur Magennis, nephew of Owen Roe O'Neill, for the See of Down on the 1st of May; and of Fr. Oliver Darcy, O.S.D., for Dromore on Sunday, the 7th of May. All these consecrations were performed by the Nuncio. The Memorandum from which I have taken these particulars adds that Dr. Magennis, the newly consecrated Bishop of Down, after the religious ceremony entertained the Nuncio and the other Prelates at a magnificent banquet to which eighty of the leading officers and nobility and citizens were invited as guests.

In the meantime the old bane of factious dissensions and party strife had begun once more to show itself. The immediate cause of dissension was a proposal to enter into a truce or treaty with Inchiquin, who, after unparallelled deeds of massacre and sacrilegious plunder, had taken offence at the doings of his Puritan associates in England, and professed himself eager to join the royal cause. With this proposed truce was also linked the renewal of the project of Peace with Lord Ormonde.

Murrough O'Brien, Baron of Inchiquin, was born of Catholic parents, and in his early years was trained in the practices of Catholic piety. Being yet a minor at the time of his father's death, he was led off to Dublin to be educated in Protestantism, under the guardianship of the State. The first Sunday that he was brought to Church, he, by his shouts and tears, attested his abhorrence of heresy. He soon, however, became reconciled to the looser morality of his Protestant companions, and learned to outstrip them in enmity to the faith of his fathers. From the commencement of the Confederate war he ranged himself in the ranks of the Puritan enemy, and was surpassed by none of them in the ferocity and cruelty which he displayed against his countrymen. He had now, however, become dissatisfied with the leaders of the Parliamentary party, for they refused to confer on him the high offices and emoluments to which he aspired. A few years later he retired to the Continent with Lord Ormonde, and was appointed to a regiment in the service of France.

He was received into the Church in Paris, and, during the many vicissitudes of his subsequent eventful life, gave abundant proof of the sincerity of his conversion. About 1659, when sailing to Portugal, he fell into the hands of pirates, and was led off as a slave to Algiers, where he was subjected to most cruel treatment. The Rinuccini MSS. preserve a letter which he forwarded from Algiers to a friend in Paris, in which, among other things, he writes:—"Ecclesiæ persecutoris talis qualis ego fui haud severa est poena ut pati cogatur quidquid hic pati possum, et haec efficacissima potest esse via qua eo redigar ut tempus præteritum poenitentia redimam." His ransom was soon after paid, and through the influence of Father Dominick O'Daly, O.S.D., he was appointed to a lucrative military post in Portugal. After the restoration of the monarchy, under Charles the Second, the family estates in Ireland were restored to him, and he continued to show himself till death a faithful son of the Catholic Church.

When, however, in 1648, he offered to forsake the Puritan enemy, and to place his sword at the services of the Royalists, his hands were red with Catholic blood. The massacre and sacrilegious pillage by his troops at Cashel were still fresh in the memory of the Irish Catholics, nor had they forgotten the desecration of Cloyne Cathedral, and the cruelty he displayed when, having taken Callan, he plundered the county of Kilkenny almost to the city gates. All this made men suspicious of some latent treachery in his eager proposals for a truce, and many hesitated to accept as sincere his conversion to the royal cause. At the same time the question of the Peace with Ormonde was brought forward with renewed vigour. All the old feuds were at once revived. The Nuncio and a majority of the clergy sided with the Old-Irish party in rejecting the Truce and Peace, but the vast majority of the Supreme Council, composed of the adherents of the Anglo-Irish families, warmly espoused both these measures.

An important change had just then been made in the organization of the Supreme Council which was practically the governing body of the nation. The General Assembly selected a list of forty-eight names, and from this list they chose twelve, who, with Lord Mountgarret as President, would form the Executive or acting members of the Supreme Council. It was further decreed that the four commanders-in-chief of the troops, one in each of the Provinces, were to be ex-officio members. Should it happen that any of the twelve selected

members of the Supreme Council were impeded by infirmity or any other cause from discharging the duties allotted him, the remaining members were to elect a substitute, but only out of the list of forty-eight names selected by the General Assembly. It will not be uninteresting to record the names of those who were thus chosen as the head governing body of the Kingdom in this moment of crisis in our history. The following is the list given in the Rinuccini MSS. from the original decree:

"From Leinster:

The Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Ferns, Viscount Mountgarret, Viscount Costulogh, Nicholas Plunkett, Richard Barnewall, Sir Thomas Nugent, Sir John Dungan, Sir Robert Talbot, Richard Bellings, Walter Bagnall, and Patrick Brian.

"From Munster:

The Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Limerick, Viscount Muskerry, Baron Dunboyne, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Edward Fitzmaurice, Sir Richard Everard, Doctor Fenell, John Walsh Justiciary, Galfrid Barron, George Comyn, and Patrick Goagh.

"From Connaught:

The Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Killalla, Viscount Mayo, Baron of Athenry, Sir Robuc Lynch, Sir Richard Blake, Sir Luke Dillon, Sir Valentine Blake, Dermid O'Shaghnussy, Zepherine Browne, Patrick Darcy, and John de Burgo.

"From Ulster:

The Marquis of Antrim, the Bishop of Clogher, the Bishop of Down, Viscount Iveagh, Alexander MacDonell, Sir Felix O'Neill, Roger Maguir, Maelmore O'Reilly, Turlough O'Boyle, Henry O'Neill, John O'Cahan, and Sir Emer MacMahon.

If the Anglo-Irish are found to preponderate upon this list, it was not only that the Irish, as a rule, had preferred the camp to the Senate, but also that they were not familiar with the English language which was used in the discussions of the Supreme Council. Most of those who were zealous for the success of the national cause understood the Irish language well, for it was their mother tongue, but they knew but little, if anything at all, of the English language, (qui boni publici zelo flagrarent plerique linguam quidem Ibernicam quia vernaculam bene, sed Anglicam male vel nullo modo callerent. *Rinuccini MS.*) When an order was issued by the Supreme Council for the new oath of Association to be translated from the

English into Irish by each Bishop for his Diocese, it was found upon inquiry that some of the Bishops themselves did not understand a word of English. It appears from the correspondence of the Nuncio that he was very much impressed by the sweetness of the Irish language thus so generally used, and though he had not leisure to devote himself to its study, some of the Italian members of his household made themselves perfect masters in it. On one occasion a number of poor people came to the Nuncio's residence to complain that they had been plundered by the Ulster soldiery. They could not speak any English, and the Nuncio noted in his Diary that their wail and lamentation in Irish was far more plaintive and impressive than any music of the great masters which he had heard in the more favoured nations of the Continent.

The rule which assigned a seat in the Supreme Council to each of the Provincial Generals was practically of no avail so far as the Irish party was concerned, for Owen Roe O'Neill in Ulster, and General O'Farrell, who now commanded the forces in Connaught, were wholly devoted to the military service, and they would neither quit the post of danger, nor would they separate themselves from the army assigned to their command. It was not so with the commanders in Leinster and Munster. They were connected with the leading Anglo-Irish families and sought to combine political intrigue with their military duties. They spent a considerable portion of the year in Kilkenny or its neighbourhood, and were at all times within easy summons to take part in the Council Meetings.

The Supreme Council, despite the most emphatic remonstrance of the Nuncio and the Irish party, agreed to the Truce with Inchiquin, and soon after publicly ratified the Peace with Ormonde. The result was not long to wait for. The old dissensions were at once revived with intensified bitterness, and in a little while degenerated into open warfare. The armies of Ulster and Leinster were no longer united against the common enemy, but were marshalled against each other in hostile ranks. Far more than the Puritans, it was Owen Roe and his army whom the Supreme Council held in special dread and pursued with the most embittered hatred. Ruin quickly followed in the footsteps of discord, and in little more than two years the Confederate cause exchanged its victories and triumphs for disaster and final overthrow.

The Nuncio, who had warmly adopted the views of the Old Irish, drew the spiritual sword and fulminated the censures of the Church against the abettors and adherents of the Truce and Peace. This, however, far from calming the storm, served only to embitter more and more the passions of the contending parties. A whole host of champions on each side indulged in the wildest recrimination. It appeared as if reason had ceased to be their guide, and the claims of justice and equity were too easily forgotten in a factious struggle to obtain the mastery. The Nuncio had reason to fear even for his personal safety, for which reason he privately took his departure from the city on the 8th of May, 1648, passing over the city wall which adjoined his residence, and pursuing his journey, accompanied only by two attendants, in a litter which awaited him outside one of the least frequented gates of the city. (*Rinnccini MS.*) He halted for a short time at Ballinakill, from which place he addressed a letter to General Preston exhorting him to uphold the Catholic cause, and thence he proceeded to the camp of Owen Roe O'Neill at Maryborough. A few days later Monsignor Masari, Dean of Fermo, whom the Nuncio had left to represent him at Kilkenny, and who was one of his most trusty counsellors, was committed to prison by order of the Supreme Council. An attempt was also made to lead to prison some of the Franciscan Fathers who were particularly prominent in upholding the censures and in condemning the proceedings of the Supreme Council, but a riot ensued, crowds of citizens assembled, and in the wildest frenzy avowed their determination to rescue the Fathers whom the people loved. The military were unable to secure their prisoners, but in the *melée* which ensued the Franciscan monastery was well nigh reduced to ruin. It is recorded that as a counterpart to those proceedings of the Anglo-Irish a scheme was set on foot by one of the Franciscans named Father Paul King, to stealthily admit Owen Roe's army into the city and thus to put the whole body of the Supreme Council into his hands. It was only at the last moment that this scheme was discovered, and the originator was compelled to seek safety by flight. Thus every day discord grew apace, whilst the cause of religion and the nation, hurried on to inevitable ruin.

The Supreme Council justified their proceedings in the matter of the truce and the Peace by setting forth their confidence in the loyalty of Inchiquin, and by declaring that the exhausted condition of the nation, and the unprecedented circumstances of the Govern-

ment in England, made it vain for the present to expect better terms as regarded religion or the redress of the public grievances. The Old-Irish party, on the other hand, contended that by the Truce, an insidious enemy was introduced within their lines, and that as regards the Peace it compromised the full liberty of religious worship which they had sworn to assert, and left unredressed many of those grievances which pressed most sorely upon them. That the Nuncio acted for the best when he resolved on issuing the censures against the promoters of the Truce and Peace there can be no doubt. But looking back upon those times at the distance of two centuries, and viewing them in the light of all the documents that have been published in the interval illustrative of both sides of the controversy, it must appear to be more than questionable whether he fully understood the true state of parties, and whether he realized the actual condition of the Confederates. From his letters and the other papers bearing upon the case, it is manifest that the Nuncio relied on the following grounds for the success of the extreme measures to which he had had recourse: 1st, that the clergy of the Kingdom would be unanimous in accepting the censures and in adopting as their own the course which he pursued; 2nd, that not only the Ulster army and the other Irish troops, but also the greater part of the Catholic soldiers in the camp of General Preston, and the garrisons of Leinster and Munster would be guided by the clergy, and detach themselves from the Supreme Council: 3rd, that the whole strength of the nation being thus marshalled in defence of religion and country, the opposition of the Ormondists, for thus the adherents of the peace were now designated, would be speedily overcome: 4th, that the military and commissariate supplies were quite sufficient for the immediate wants of the Irish army: and 5th, that abundant aid would be forthcoming from the Holy See and the other friendly Powers on the Continent to enable them to prosecute with vigour the war against the Puritan enemy. The result, however, was far from justifying these expectations. The clergy were anything but united in asserting the validity of the censures, and espousing the Nuncio's cause. Some of the most influential amongst them went even so far as to openly assert that the censures were null, and that the Nuncio, in drawing the spiritual sword, had over-stepped the authority with which he was invested by the Sovereign Pontiff. Instead of the various armies coalescing against the common enemy, their jealousy

and hostility became more embittered, and thenceforward detachments of troops, adhering to the respective parties, were to be found every day assailing each other in deadly strife. The country was quite exhausted of supplies: one pound sterling was the ordinary price for a few ounces of gunpowder, and even at that price oftentimes none could be procured. For instance, when Owen Roe, soon after the proclamation of this peace with Ormonde, received instructions to occupy Athlone as the key of the communications with the Northern and Western provinces, the castle closed its gates against him, and after a few days he marched away from its walls without making any serious attempt to enforce its surrender. He was everywhere censured for pursuing such a course, but he manfully bore in silence the reproaches that were heaped upon him. To his friends, however, he made known the secret, as we learn from the Rinuccini MS. that his whole supply of powder would not suffice for the discharge of a single piece of ordnance, that he had sent agents on every side to secure a supply, but that not even a few pounds of it could be procured. The angry dissensions by which the Confederate ranks were now rent gave a fair pretext to the Continental powers to withhold the succours which they had promised. Moreover, the complete defeat of the royalists in England, and the growing strength of the Parliament party, made several of those powers less anxious to provoke its hostility, whilst others—and in particular the Holy See—were forced to apply all their resources to the defence of their own frontiers, on account of the menacing attitude of the Saracens.

On the 28th of May, a few days after the departure of the Nuncio, the sentence of excommunication against the adherents of the Peace was affixed to the doors of the Cathedral and the other churches in Kilkenny. The Bishop, Dr. Rothe, assembled the clergy of the city in the Cathedral, and from the altar published the censures intimated by the Nuncio. He, moreover, sent copies, authenticated by his signature, to each of the Prelates then resident in the city, and, writing to the Auditor of the Nuncio, declared that he was ready to proclaim aloud those censures in the market-place, and to lay down his life, if necessary, to prove his reverence for the Representative of the Sovereign Pontiff. In a few days, however, all this was changed.

The Supreme Council adopted the most stringent measures to

enforce the observance of the truce and peace. At the same time they lodged a formal appeal from the Nuncio's censures to the immediate authority of the Holy See, and they addressed most respectful letters to the Bishops and other distinguished members of the clergy, enlisting their sympathy and support in the course to which they had now committed themselves. To the Bishop of Ossory, they moreover forwarded a series of seven Queries, on the subject of the Censures, very skillfully drawn up, with an official request that he would submit them to his clergy, and after mature deliberation favour the Supreme Council with a reply. The Queries were in substance as follows :—

1.—Whether the articles of the Truce with Inchiquin were to be regarded as hostile to the Catholic religion, and affording sufficient grounds for the extreme sentence of Excommunication and Interdict ?

2.—Whether the Appeal to the Holy See lodged by the Supreme Council in due form and within the prescribed time, should suffice to suspend ad interim the effects of those censures ?

3.—Whether in the proposals made by the Nuncio regarding the Truce, or in the answers to the same presented by the Supreme Council, there was anything which justified the issuing of the sentence of Excommunication ?

4.—Whether those who had taken the oath of Association would incur the guilt of perjury were they to set themselves in opposition to the express Decrees of the Supreme Council ?

5.—Whether the Excommunication and Interdict were to be considered as contrary to the laws of the Kingdom, which were enacted in Catholic times and which all the Prelates of this realm were bound by oath to uphold, and whether it be lawful for the Bishops, nevertheless, to publish the said Excommunication and Interdict in defiance of the express prohibition of the Supreme Council ?

6—Whether a dispensation in the oath of Association could be accorded to any party among the Confederates without the consent of the General Assembly, all authority in regard to said oath being expressly reserved by the articles of Association to the General Assembly ?

7—Whether it be lawful for any party among the Confederates, under pretence of the course of action now pursued by the Nuncio, to refuse obedience to the authority of the Supreme Council ?

The Bishop in due course convened the clergy, secular and regular, of the city to submit these questions to them and to deliberate on the answers to be given. For about two months (per duos circiter menses, *Rinuccini MS.*) the whole matter of the censures and the Peace was fully and warmly discussed. Each side had its ardent supporters, but the great majority of the clergy, and in particular the Jesuit Fathers, gave their opinion in favour of the Supreme Council and against the validity of the censures. Dr. Rothe further learned that the same opinion was shared by a majority of the Prelates at the time resident in Kilkenny. Without delay he withdrew his former mandate, and in conformity with the opinion of the clergy forwarded his reply to the Queries of the Supreme Council. An elaborate treatise was soon after published over the name of the Bishop of Ossory, justifying his decision and setting forth in detail the grounds on which it rested. Owing to the infirmities of the aged Bishop the publication of this treatise was intrusted to Father Peter Walsh, O.S.F., who was a violent partizan of the Supreme Council, and who was himself supposed to have drawn up the Queries that had given rise to the discussion. It happened that in this way some expressions were introduced into the work somewhat disrespectful to the Holy See and offensive to the Nuncio. The Bishop hastened to repudiate all such expressions and to protest against such sentiments being imputed to him, for he would yield to none in reverence and love for the Holy See. This treatise in reply to the Queries received the written approval of several of the clergy, and among the rest, of Thomas Dease Bishop of Meath; Thomas Rothe, Dean of St. Canice's; James Talbot, S.T.D.; Sebastian Fleming, Treasurer of the St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; Nicholas Taylor, S.T.D.; William Sherlock, S.T. Professor prebendary of Howth and Vic. For. of Fingal; Luke Cowley, Archdeacon of Ossory and Proth. Apost.; Laurence Archbold, Vicar For. of the Deanery of Bray, Tanney and Glendalough; and several members of the various religious orders. As a result of this important decision the Interdict was no longer observed at the Cathedral of Kilkenny, nor at St. Mary's, and it was left a matter of option to the churches of the Religious orders to observe it or not, as their respective superiors might think fit. The Jesuits and Franciscans followed the example of the Cathedral, but the Interdict was strictly observed by the Dominicans and Capuchins.

Nothing was left undone to change the resolution of the venerable Bishop, Dr. Rothe, for he was the senior Prelate of the Kingdom, and revered by clergy and laity alike for his piety and learning, and hence his decision lent great weight in favour of the promoters of the Peace with Ormonde. The Archbishop of Dublin, as Metropolitan of the province of Leinster, addressed to him a Letter which may be seen in the Supplement to Hibernia Dominicana, pag. 897, exhorting him and, as far as the Archiepiscopal authority would permit, commanding him to observe the Interdict and to show due obedience to the censures as issued by the Nuncio. All such efforts however were fruitless, and on the 18th of January, 1649, we find Dr. Rothe and some of the other Bishops who shared the same views, addressing the following Circular to their flocks :—

"As a war undertaken principally for Religion gave us all the world over the reputation of a Catholic people, even so the Peace now concluded between the King's Lieutenant and us, speak us a most loyal nation, as complying with his Majesty in his greatest necessity. Though in our thoughts and occasions during these seven years' wars, we had still this loyalty, and have oft publicly sworn it, yet lay we under the suspicion of many men; but by the present agreement all blemish of that kind is taken away. We are of opinion, that our sense of this Peace would give you a confidence to receive and submit to it willingly and cheerfully; to which end we do hereby give you assurance we have by this Peace in the present concessions and in the expectations of future gracious favours from his Majesty's goodness, received a good satisfaction for the being and safety of Religion; and the substance thereof, as to the concessions for religion, is better than the sound. By the temporal articles, the lives, liberties, and estates of men are provided for; so as now you have a clear quarrel without thought or the least colour of suspicion; for you fight purely against sectaries and rebels, for God and Cesar, and under those banners under which you may well hope for victories. We do hereby pray you may with joy and much happiness wear this green laurel of happy peace; and so we remain, your Fathers and Servants in Christ Jesus,

JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
DAVID, Bishop of Ossory.
THOMAS, Bishop of Meath.

FRANCIS, Bishop of Killalla.
EDMOND, Bishop of Limerick.
NICHOLAS, Bishop of Ferns.
Fr. HUGH, Bishop of Kilmacduagh.
PATRICK, Bishop of Dromore.
ANDREW, Bishop of Kilfenora.

The Nuncio laid at the door of the Jesuit Fathers, who were known to have great influence with the venerable Bishop, as well as with the clergy and the citizens of Kilkenny, all the blame of the decision of the assembled clergy, and of the reply which they had forwarded to the official queries of the Supreme Council. For this reason, in many of his letters, written at this time, and in his subsequent reports, addressed to the authorities in Rome, he repeated that he held them responsible for the course pursued by the aged Bishop, and for the dissensions which thenceforward became intensified a hundred fold, and consequently for the ruin which befel the nation. In a Memorandum, which he addressed to the General of the Society on this subject, he set forth that it was the Jesuits of Kilkenny who guided the aged Bishop in his decision, that in their church they had given an example to others by setting at nought the Interdict, that on the feast of their patron and founder they had invited Father Peter Walsh, O.S.F., to preach a panegyric replete with errors against sound principles and the teaching of faith, that they refused permission to their pupils to uphold the censures, and that throughout all this controversy they proved themselves the most active partizans of the Supreme Conncil. There was probably a good deal of truth in all this. All the Jesuit Fathers, however, were not opposed to the censures. Father Nugent, for instance, who had been for a long time superior of the mission, espoused the cause of the Nuncio, and the same course was pursued by Father John Young, a man respected throughout all Ireland for his zeal and many virtues. Father Egan, whose letter may be seen in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. 1, pag. 320, declared that, so far from the Jesuits being the guides of the Bishop, they had merely followed his guidance. The most important document, however, connected with this controversy is a letter of Dr. Rothe and other Bishops, addressed, in 1649, to Pere Verdier, the Visitor whom the General of the Jesuits, by order of His Holiness, had sent to Ireland to inquire into the course pursued by the

Fathers of the Society. I will give the original letter as preserved in the Rinuccini MSS., 1781-b:

"Admodum Reverende Pater,

Cum intellexerimus Paternitatem Vestram ex directione Sanctissimi Domini per admodum Rev. P. Generalem vestri ordinis fuisse missum in hoc regnum ad inquirendum et examinandum quomodo religiosi Patres Vestræ Societatis hisce distractis et turbatis temporibus sese gesserint et nunc gerunt, et cum videamus Paternitatem vestram sinistris informationibus ab Illustrissimo D. Nuncio, apud quem fuit Galviæ, tum de nobis, tum de ipsis patribus esse præoccupatam, notum facimus paternitati vestræ quod patres vestri modeste religiose, prudenter semet gesserunt cum nostra et communi omnium satisfactione et ædificatione per conformitatem animorum et unionem quam inter se servaverunt et aliis monstrarunt, nullis turbis, molestiis, vel seditionibus se immiscendo; quas ob causas, nos et totum regnum magnas illis et vestro ordini gratias debemus: quod si aliter quam fecerunt, semet gessissent, tum se tum posteros suos in hoc regno exosos redidissent, sicuti fecerunt aliorum ordinum non pauci Regulares, quos severis nostris monitionibus et decretis refractarii, inter se ipsos divisi et cum omnium scandalo factiosi, seditiones, turbas, cædes, conjurationes per regnum procurando, se et suos ordines traxerunt in magnas angustias et inextricabiles difficultates, de quibus nos cogimur strictam exigere rationem et statuere condignam pœnam pro remedio. Quapropter hortamur paternitatem vestram, ut admodum Reverendo P. Vestro Generali significari faciat, quatenus causa vestrorum patrum hic ita est conjuncta cum nostra, quod teneamur illam tanquam nostram sustinere, nec posse contra illos quidquam a S. Paternitate statui, quod in nostram condemnationem non cederet, quod ab ipsius prudentia longe abesse, nobis persuademus, præsertim cum debeamus causæ nostræ simul et ipsorum æquitatem Sanctissimo Domino et toti mundo probare. Paternitati vestræ felicitatem et incolumitatem precamur.

Kilkenniæ, 20 Januarii, 1649.

JOANNES, Archiep. Tuamensis.
DAVID, Ossoriensis.
THOMAS, Midensis.
FRANCISCUS, Alladensis.
EDMUNDUS, Limiricensis.
Fr. OLIVERUS, Drumorensis.
ANDREAS, Finniborensis.

In forming a judgment on this matter it should be borne in mind that the second Peace with Ormonde, of which there is now question, was in many respects more favourable to the Irish Catholics than the former proposals of peace which the clergy and people with practical unanimity had repudiated. The official Articles of the second Peace are set forth by Cox in the Appendix to his History of Ireland, and occupy eighteen folio pages. It may justly be said that by this peace the Catholics of Ireland were placed in pretty much the same position as they hold at the present day. They were freed from all penalties on the score of religion. The oath of Supremacy was no longer to be required from them. They were to retain the Churches and Church-livings actually in their possession "until such time as His Majesty, upon a full consideration of the desires of the said Roman Catholics, in a free Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, shall declare his further pleasure." All Acts and Ordinances made by Parliament to the dishonour or prejudice of Irish Catholics since 1641, were to be annulled. "All impediments which may hinder the said Roman Catholics to sit or vote in the next intended Parliament, or to choose, or to be chosen Knights and Burgesses to sit or vote there, shall be removed." The Catholics were to be empowered to erect and keep free schools for the education of youth, and all the restrictions hitherto imposed upon the natives in the matter of "the Inns of Court in or near the city of Dublin" were to be cancelled. Catholics were to be appointed to the highest posts of trust, without exception, according to their merit, and on this head it must be admitted that their condition would be far better than it is at the present day. An Act of Oblivion was to be passed for all treasons and offences committed since the 23rd of October, 1641, excepting always such public crimes "as shall be agreed upon by the commissioners." It was added that the Regular clergy would remain in undisturbed possession of the religious houses actually held by them, and should continue to enjoy their present pensions, until this matter would be settled by Parliament. There was a special clause regarding the Catholic citizens of Cork, Youghal, and Dungarvan who had been expelled from their homes by the Protestant troops: they were to be forthwith restored to their possessions and estates in the said city and towns so far as the security of the respective garrisons would not be thereby endangered; and should it not be feasible to admit them

to their houses and holdings "a valuable annual rent" was to be paid them until settlement by Parliament. Other articles were inserted regarding the Court of Wards and the estates confiscated under Strafford and in the preceding reign, and remedying several temporal grievances of which the Irish people complained.

For those who placed their trust in Ormonde and the King, and were willing to confide in the future Parliament, these conditions were perhaps as favourable as could be hoped for. Without the sanction of Parliament however this treaty of Peace was little better than a farce, and in those days the summoning of an Irish Parliament and its legislation were entirely dependent on the Viceroy, who in his turn was guided by the whims of the monarch, and by what was supposed to represent the interests of the Crown in England. Hence we find that the whole discussion between the old Irish party and the Supreme Council now resolved itself into a question as to the confidence that could be placed in the intentions and sincerity of Ormonde. As a rule the Old Irish distrusted him. They were convinced that he was playing a double game; he was anxious, they said, to get the Confederate army into his hands, and should he attain that end then his promises would be found to be of little avail. On the other hand the Anglo-Irish placed full confidence in his assurances, and were ready to abide by the good intentions of the King.

Throughout all the discussions of this most critical period, the Nuncio and the leaders of the Old-Irish party though sorely troubled at the attitude of the Bishop of Ossory, so venerable for his virtues and his years, yet exempted him from all blame. The author of the "Aphorismical Discovery" speaks of him as being at this time in a "second infancy" and suffering from a "a dead palsy, and consequently of no ability either to pen, study, nay, nor understand any question or difference that did admit the least difficulty." (Edited by *Gilbert*, vol. 1st, pag. 272.) So, too, in the Rinuccini MS. he is constantly referred to as "repuerascens," and so weighed down by the burden of his years and infirmities as to be quite unable to form any judgment as to the grave questions that were under discussion. This opinion in part at least would seem to be confirmed by a petition on the part of the Bishop, presented a few months later to the Viceroy by those who had charge of the temporalities of the See. It is given as follows from the Ormonde "Entry Books" in the Report on the

Carte Papers, pag. 83 :—

"The Petition of David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, 21st August, 1649, shows that his tenants of the See-lands, taking advantage of the disturbances of the times, and well knowing that the petitioner is old and bedrid, and unable to proceed by distress, neglect to pay him their rents; he therefore prays a renewal of the order of the late General Assembly and Supreme Council for Captain J. Bryan to cess them with a competent number of foot soldiers until they shall pay; for his lands are so waste, they yield not as much as may maintain the church in any beseeming manner, and petitioner himself, for want of maintenance, must be forced to break up house and live obscurely and meanly."

It was on the same ground of his infirmities that the aged Bishop repeated at this time his application to the Holy See for the appointment of a Coadjutor, for which office the names of the Rev. Bartholomew Archer and the Rev. Edward Tyrrell were forwarded to Rome. This latter distinguished Ecclesiastic had resided for the most part in Paris, and is described in the Rinuccini MS. as "Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Facultatis Parisiensis, Foederatorum Hibernorum ordinarius in Aula Gallicana Agens, et ipse nobilis Hibernus." He was also Rector of the Irish College in that city, and his name had been already presented to Rome when there was question of appointing a Coadjutor for the Archbishop of Dublin. Father Archer was a native of Kilkenny, and also lived in France, where he held the post of Chaplain to some members of the Orleans family. The Nuncio had at one time formed a favourable opinion of his ability and zeal, but a controversy had since arisen which made it questionable whether his promotion would tend to promote peace and advance the interests of religion in the Diocese of Ossory. The Rectory of Callan becoming vacant in 1647, the friends of Father Archer used every endeavour to secure that post for him. They applied direct to the Holy See that the Benefice might be conferred on him by special Brief, and as that Benefice, under Protestant regime, had been vested in Lord Ormonde, they applied also to him, and he through one of his dependants in that parish readily accorded the desired favour. The aged Bishop who highly esteemed Father Archer willingly added his approval, so far as his jurisdiction extended in the matter. That nothing might be wanting to render him secure

in the enjoyment of the Benefice, the Duke of Orleans addressed a Letter to the Nuncio, requesting him to use his influence in favour of Father Archer. However, in the meantime the Nuncio had already collated another priest of the diocese to the Rectory of Callan, and he had taken this step, as he states in his Letter of April 18th, 1647, addressed to the Papal Nuncio in Paris, "in order to preserve the rights of the Holy See and the freedom of Ecclesiastical Benefices," and further to test "by means of a legal refusal, how the Marquis as a heretic could have the right of patronage" or how that right being thus forfeited it could be exercised through one of the Marquis's tenantry. Two letters of the Nuncio Rinuccini on this subject may be seen in his 'Nunziatura,' translated by A. Hutton, pag. 272-3. Notwithstanding this courageous step on the part of the Nuncio, Father Archer appears to have insisted on his claim, and the latest document that I have found connected with the controversy is a Letter of the Bishop, Dr. Rothe, preserved among the Wadding MSS., dated 18th of August, 1648, and addressed to Father James Geynan, Vicar of Callan, "prohibiting him to endeavour to hinder Father Bartholomew Archer from the peaceable possession of the parsonage of Callan."

But to return whence we have diverged, the venerable Prelate, now more than eighty years of age, was without doubt weighed down by the burden of his infirmities, but despite all this and notwithstanding the increasing responsibilities of his sacred office his mind appears to have retained its full vigour. He gave proof of this when, as we have seen on the first publication of the censures, he summoned the clergy to the Cathedral and there solemnly enjoined their observance. He showed the same vigour when he subsequently invited the clergy to deliberate upon the Queries proposed by the Supreme Council, and as appears from the letter of Father Egan, S.I., who was present, he displayed great ability and firmness whilst presiding at their deliberations. A few months later when the plague broke out in Kilkenny we will see that Dr. Rothe neglected none of the duties of the faithful Pastor that he might bring the consolations of religion to his suffering people. But perhaps no better proof can be required of his retaining his full vigour of mind than the course he pursued when the treatise in reply to the Queries of the Supreme Council, with additions which he had not sanctioned, was published

over his name. As we have seen he at once repudiated those offensive additions which were not consonant to orthodox teaching and he openly proclaimed his devoted loyalty to the Holy See.

In the beginning of October, 1648, Ormonde, now invested with the full authority of Lord Lieutenant, landed in Cork. He at once published a Manifesto addressed to his Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, in which he endeavoured to justify his past conduct in surrendering Dublin and other garrisons to the Puritans. He had done so, he declares, "that by being under the power of the houses (of Parliament) they would, upon a happy expected composure of affairs in England, revert unto and be revested in his Majesty in his proper right." This sentiment pervades the whole Manifesto, and he had plainly for his object in writing it rather to please the Protestant supporters of the royal cause in England than to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland. From Cork he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was received with great military display. He took up his quarters at the Castle, and soon gave great offence to the citizens by insisting that his own Protestant troop of horse should be installed there as his body-guard.

The Nuncio finding that the Peace was generally accepted and proclaimed throughout the cities and towns of Ireland retired to the city of Galway. Here he was subjected to many petty annoyances, and towards the close of the year 1648 he intimated to some of the Bishops his intention to depart from the kingdom as soon as a favourable opportunity would arise. At length on the 22nd of February, 1649, he set sail in the Pontifical frigate, the San Pietro, and after a perilous voyage landed in France. The Bishop of Ossory, with the Archbishop of Tuam and some other Prelates, before his departure addressed to him the following important letter, of which I give the original text from the Rinuccini MS. :—

Illustrissime Domine,

Ubi intelleximus Illustrissimam Dominationem Vestram parare ab hoc regno discessum, venit nobis in mentem censurarum contra hunc populum nuper emissarum, et cum non ignoremus censuras Ecclesiasticas sive juste latæ sint sive injuste communiter ab illis qui tenerioris sunt conscientiæ et scrupulis vexantur formidari; quibus ut remedium adhibeatur et nulla persona cujuscumque conditionis aut status, virtute aut prætextu prædictarum censurarum (solent

enim nonnulli pietatis velo perversas machinationes et fraudes palliare) præsumat violare pacem jam conclusam cum rege nostro et passim per regnum promulgatam, quæ Catholicæ religioni, ejusque splendori pro temporum ac status nostri conditione bene consulit providetque, et quam populus excusso tandem hæreseos jugo avide amplectitur, neve ullus audeat publicam gentis quietem perturbare aut impedire concordiam. Haec enim natio nonnisi per animorum consentionem et vires unitas reflorescet, neque alia excogitari potest aut iniri ratio Religionem in hac insula promovendi quam ut penitus deleatur memoria controversiarum quæ inter hujus regni Catholicos Sedis Apostolicæ observantissimos, et Dominationem Vestram Illustrissimam eximium illius Ministrum, sunt exortae: Nos tanquam mediatores rogamus Dominationem V. I. quatenus populo hujus regni absolutionem ad cautelam a censuris hactenus latis velit impertiri, quod tam Dominationi Vestræ Illustrissimæ quam populo gratissimum fore speramus. Data enim hac absolutione, I. D. Vestra relinquet post se benedictionem et universi populi preces ac bona vota vcs prosequentur. Quod ad nos attinet, nequaquam tangebamur censuris inflictis. Unde hæc nostra intercessio reputari debet ex charitate profecta: Cum itaque ad hanc deprecationem duabus præcipue rationibus permoti, nempe sollicitudine pro animabus ab omni scrupulo liberandis et amicitia erga Dominationem V. I. arbitramur nos paternum in gregem affectum et fraternum in V. D. Illustrissimam officium exhibuisse, et hæ nos rationes, non vanus timor aut assentatio, ad has preces (ita nos amet Deus) impulerunt. Illustrissimæ Dominationi Vestræ felicitatem omnem adprecamur et manus deosculamur.

Kilkenniæ, 25 Januarii, 1649.

Dominationis v. Illustrissimæ
addictissimi servi
JOANNES, Archiep. Tuamensis.
DAVID, Ossoriensis.
THOMAS, Midensis.
PATRITIUS, Ardaghadensis.
Fr. OLIVERUS, Dromorensis.

There was some delay in forwarding this letter, as it was transmitted from Kilkenny to Cashel, to be signed by the Metropolitan of Munster. It was not however till the 20th of February, 1649, that the illustrious

Archbishop, Dr. Thomas Walsh, concurred in its prayer, and it was then consigned by him to the Bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett to be its bearers to Galway. They proceeded by slow stages towards the capital of the West, and came in sight of the walls of Galway only on the day after the Nuncio had taken his departure. The letter was thus of no avail for the present, and when at a later period it was forwarded to France new circumstances had arisen which prevented it from attaining the desired favourable result.

Disasters very soon began to fall in quick succession on the Irish Confederates. The siege of Dublin by Lord Ormonde in the Summer of 1649 and the ruinous defeat which brought that siege to a shameful close, have been minutely described by Father Denis Murphy, S.J., in his interesting work, just published, 'Cromwell in Ireland.' The Rinuccini MS. however supplies some details which he has omitted and which make it more easy for us to account for the disastrous overthrow of the Irish army. All the disposable royalist troops from Connaught, Munster and Leinster were gradually got together during the Spring of 1649. Clogrenan Castle, midway between Leighlinbridge and Carlow, was appointed the place of general rendezvous, and towards the end of May, 14,500 foot and 3,700 horse were marshalled there under the immediate command of the Lord Lieutenant. It was his aim to get possession of Dublin which had but a feeble garrison of Puritan troops, and where the citizens were for the most part devoted to the King's interest. On his march he was joined by an additional select body of 2,000 Munster Catholic soldiers, commanded by Inchiquin, and thus his army mustered more than 20,000 men. About the middle of June they encamped near Rathmines, a few miles from the capital. The brilliant success of Inchiquinn and his detachment was the only thing that lit up the dulness of the six weeks' siege. Before the end of June this able officer with his Catholic troops fell upon the Puritan cavalry to the north of the city and completely routed them, but when he asked to be allowed to pursue his victory by making an assault on the city, he received an express command to desist from that enterprise. Being next commissioned to cut off the supplies from Drogheda, he attacked that strongly fortified town, burned two of the gates, and after a few days siege compelled it to surrender. A large supply of ammunition was being forwarded by Colonel

Monk to the Irish army in Ulster. He laid an ambush for the convoy, scattered them and captured the ammunition. He then marched on Dundalk and forced that town also to surrender. He returned to the camp flushed with victory, but to the great surprise of the whole army he and his valorous regiments were ordered to return to Munster under the pretext that it was necessary to guard the southern coasts.

In the mean time reinforcements and supplies from England had strengthened the hands of Monroe, who commanded in Dublin, and it became manifest to everyone that unless the siege were pressed with vigour the royalist chances of entering the city would be very soon but slight indeed. Ormonde accordingly gave orders on the 5th of August to Major General Purcell to occupy the advanced position of Baggotrath that night with 1,500 men and to entrench himself there against any attack from the Puritan garrison. The old castle of Baggotrath, where the Beggar's Bush barracks now stand, was only half-a-mile in advance of the Irish lines, and the bravery, loyalty, and ability of Major-General Patrick Purcell were above all question. Traitorous guides however were assigned him, who led the troops by a circuitous way, and it was only at morning's dawn, on the 6th of August, that they secured a footing at Baggotsrath. Ormonde, who rode over to Baggotrath early in the morning, arrived there almost as soon as the troops, and at once superseded the Catholic officer in command, appointing Sir William Vaughan, a Protestant, in his stead. This gave great annoyance to the Catholic soldiers, for they had great confidence in Sir Patrick Purcell, an experienced officer who had won his laurels in the wars in Germany. They were further dissatisfied at the refusal of Ormonde to permit the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass to be offered up in his camp that morning. It was apparent to everyone that a battle was at hand, and the Catholic soldiers wished to prepare for it as was usual with them by acts of penance and piety. But Ormonde prohibited Mass being said, as Rev. Patrick Lynch, Provost of St. Nicholas's, Galway, wrote soon after to the Nuncio, "vetuit rem sacram fieri in sua castrorum Dublinensium parte Ormonius."

From the account of the battle forwarded to the King by Ormonde it is clear that he fully realized how momentous was the struggle now at hand. He saw from Baggotrath, he says, "strong

parties of the enemy drawn out under their works," whilst other Puritan soldiers were concealing themselves behind houses and in the valley between the strand and the royal army, and he adds that he told the officers and men at Baggotrath "he was confident Jones would hazard all to interrupt their work." Under these circumstances we would expect a commanding officer to strengthen the post of danger, and to manœuvre his troops so as to distract the enemy's attention, and to make him solicitous for the defence of his own quarters. The only manœuvre executed by Ormonde was on his return from Baggotrath to the camp, at 9 o'clock in the morning, to order all the men to stand under arms: "in my way to my tent I caused all the regiments to stand to their arms"; and as for himself he went to bed. This would appear incredible were it not narrated by Ormonde himself in his letter to the King, and repeated in his reply to the Manifesto of the Prelates assembled at Jamestown, as may be seen in Cox's History, Appendix XLVIII., pag. 195. There is one circumstance which Ormonde passes over in silence. Whilst the men were ordered to stand under arms the rain came down in such torrents that it seemed to the soldiers as if the cataracts of heaven were opened, "cataractas coeli apertas," to renew the terrors and the chastisements of the deluge.

The besieged garrison did not permit the royal troops to remain long in suspense. At ten o'clock, a.m., Jones with his whole army fell upon the detachment at Baggotsrath. The newly-appointed officer in command, Major-General Vaughan, was quite unprepared for this attack, and was himself shot down, whilst his soldiers took to the hills. Availing of the confusion which ensued, Jones ordered his troops to advance, and made an onslaught on the main body of the besiegers. In less than two hours the whole of the royal army was routed, and the arms, artillery, ammunition, baggage, and camp were in the enemy's hands. The number of the slain was comparatively small, for as soon as a body of 1,000 cavalry showed a disposition to fight, the pursuit ceased, and the victors withdrew with their booty to the city. To account for this crushing defeat it is generally said that the soldiers were untrained, and were, therefore, unable to stand the charge of disciplined troops. There is, however, no proof that they were deficient in military discipline. A considerable part of the army was composed of English regiments, who

had been mustered by Ormonde for this enterprise, and of these fifteen hundred, immediately after the battle, changed sides, and were at once adopted into Jones's army. On the other hand the Irish soldiers in the royal army were without heart or courage, for they had no confidence in the officers assigned to them. The conduct of some of the officers seemed to justify this diffidence. A body of troops, 2,500 strong, were stationed on the north side of the city under command of Lord Dillon. This nobleman was a favourite of Ormonde, and, though he had never drawn a sword, was appointed, in 1647, to command the cavalry, superseding Colonel MacThomas, one of the bravest of the Irish officers. At the outset of the battle messengers from the camp pressed Lord Dillon to draw out his army to assail the enemy in flank, and thus recover the field. Instead of doing so, however, he left the Lord Lieutenant to his fate, and marched off his men to garrison quarters in Drogheda and Trim. Colonel Jones, in his report to Parliament, declared that his loss was not more than twenty killed, but that a large number, particularly of his cavalry, were wounded. There were conflicting estimates of the loss on the side of the Royalists. Jones considered that it might amount to about four thousand slain on the field of battle and during the pursuit: whilst Ormonde set down his total loss at little more than six hundred. The discrepancy, perhaps, arose from the fact that a large number of the prisoners, who fell into the hands of the Puritan soldiers, were massacred in cold blood. Among those thus put to death was a whole detachment of Walloons, who had been brought over from the Continent in the service of the King. As they could not speak English they were mistaken for Irish Catholics, and were cruelly massacred after throwing down their arms and obtaining quarter. Among the prisoners were the Earl of Fingall, who soon after died in prison, and Lieutenant-General Richard Butler, of Kilcash, brother of Lord Ormonde, one of the ablest and most devoted men in the Kingdom. Jones, in his report to the Parliament, returned the number of royalist officers who were his prisoners at about two hundred, and amongst them was the Rev. Robert Hamilton, the Protestant Chaplain of the forces, probably the first Protestant who bore that rank in the Confederate army.

Ormonde, a few days before the battle, writing to the King, lamented their want of supplies, but eulogized the self-denying

devotedness of the men: "that which only threatens any rule to our success (he writes) is our wants which have been and are such that soldiers have actually starved by their arms, and many of less constancy have gone home: many of the foot are weak; yet I despair not to be able to keep them together, and to reduce Dublin if good supplies of all sorts come not speedily to relieve it. I am confident that I can persuade one half of our army to starve outright, and I shall venture upon it rather than give up a game so fair on our side and so hard to be recovered if given over." (*Carte's* Collection, ii. 389). The Irish Bishops assembled at Jamestown twelve months later, when all the circumstances of this disastrous defeat had been fully discussed, declared in an Address to the nation: "regimen exercitus fuit improvidum, incircumspectum et infeliciter ominosum: nihil toto orbe Christiano accidere visum magis pudendum quam infortunium illud nostri exercitus apud Rathminiam prope Dublinium. Ibi Sua Excellentia (sicut viris magnae experientiæ et in exterarum regionum militia probatis, qui omnia lustrarunt, visum) tenebat potius quasi nundinas mercimoniorum et causarun tribunal, ludorum, compotationum, et voluptatum tabernam, quam bene ordinata militum castra aut aciem." (From the original Latin text in *Spicileg. Ossorien*, vol. 3.) Cox in his History of Ireland, endeavours to minimize the force of this Address and translates the words placed above within parenthesis, "as it seemed to ancient travellers and men of experience who viewed all," (Appendix XLVIII, pag. 180), but the condemnation by the Bishops is far more precise than this translation would convey. They declare that they are not guided merely by hearsay report, but that they follow the judgment of men "of great experience who were trained to war in foreign countries and who had carefully examined the whole matter." There can be no doubt that the opinion of the Jamestown Prelates was correct. Colonel Jones forwarded his dispatches to the Parliament by Captain Otway who had taken part in the battle. This officer published in London a detailed account of the victory which the Puritan troops had achieved, and he states in his narrative that they found in the royalist camp abundant military supplies with plenty of wine, a quantity of purple, silk, satin, and scarlet dresses and woollen stuffs, all of which had been left behind by Ormonde, together with the military chest and £4,000.

Ormonde quitted the field of battle with such speed that he

arrived at home before the news had reached of his defeat. Some even imagined that the capital had fallen into his hands, and men set to work to prepare addresses of welcome and congratulation when it began to be whispered that the only tidings which he brought were the complete overthrow of the royal army. I have entered somewhat minutely into the details of this disastrous defeat, as the same circumstances of incapacity and disloyalty, and waste of the nation's resources which characterized it at every step are to be found in most of the subsequent encounters which quickly led to the total ruin of our country.

It was at this critical moment too that Ireland had to mourn the loss of her bravest and most chivalrous son, Owen Roe O'Neill. He had succeeded in disciplining his Ulster forces, as none other could discipline them, and he had moreover trained them to victory on many a hard fought field of battle. The anxiety occasioned by the want of military supplies, and the consequent enforced inactivity at a moment of such a crisis for his country as well as the negotiations which from his inmost soul he abhorred, but which as a last resource he had been compelled to enter into with the Puritans in the North, began to tell upon his constitution otherwise so inured to fatigue. Only when it was too late did Ormonde, who had proclaimed him a traitor and an enemy of the nation, begin to realize that all that was best and bravest and most loyal in the Kingdom made common cause with Owen Roe and looked to him as their chosen leader. Negotiations had been opened a little time before with the Ulster General, and his conditions were without delay accepted. True to the last to the cause of religion he refused to associate on any account with the Ormondist Confederates unless they engaged to make application to the Holy See to be absolved from the censures which they had incurred. On the 12th of October, 1649, the articles of agreement were signed by the representatives of Ormonde and Owen Roe at Feenagh, and the Ulster army at once began its march towards the South. A few days later the following letter was addressed by Ormonde to the Irish General :—

"Domine,

Tibi certifico non modo tuam mecum initæ conventionis conclusionem in una eademque causa cum non mediocri virium incremento, idque eo tempore quo vires necessariæ sunt, mihi animi oblectationem peperisse, sed etiam magnum mihi esse gaudii aug-

mentum quod mihi nascetur occasio qua tibi magis notus ero, quaque tibi ostendam quanti te et tua consilia facio in rebus arduis et periculosis quas nunc gero. Tibi etiam constanter affirmo me cupere ut valde sinceram tecum contraham amicitiam qualem pro tua expectatione vel pro suis viribus spondere potest,

Waterfordiæ, 18 Octob., 1679, tuus benevolus servus,

Ormonius.

Perdilecto nobis Præfecto Generali

Eugenio O'Nello.

It was too late however to thus endeavour to secure the friendship and enlist the co-operation of Owen Roe. Weighed down by a fit of sickness which baffled the skill of his physicians, and of which he had had a slight attack in the preceding year, he accompanied the troops as far as Cloughouter, and there he received all the last Sacraments with great piety on the 5th of November (old style) and expired the next morning at 9 o'clock, a.m. His remains were interred with every military honour in the Franciscan church at the Old Abbey, Cavan. The popular tradition which assigns his death to a slow poison administered to him by the Puritans of the north is well expressed in Davis's ballad, which begins with the strophe:

"Did they dare, did they dare, to slay Owen Roe O'Neill?
Yes, they slew with poison him they feared to meet with steel.
May God wither up their hearts! may their blood cease to flow!
May they walk in living death, who poisoned Owen Roe."

On the 20th of August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin with a select body of 12,000 veterans, an exhaustless supply of military stores and £200,000. Besides these vast supplies "it is certain that a large sum was handed over to him for private purposes, which he was to have the power of spending without rendering any account of it." (Ranke, History of England, III. 30.) By the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, unparallelled in civilized warfare, he opened the way to New Ross, then a walled town, before which he encamped on the 17th of October. Ormonde appointed Colonel Luke Taaffe its governor, with a garrison of 2,500 men. The citizens on their part left nothing undone to prepare for the assault, but Taaffe, who is described by the Prelates assembled at Jamestown, as 'a young and inexperienced officer,' as soon as a few shots were fired hastily signed the articles of surrender

on the 19th of October. Five hundred English soldiers under his command next day joined Cromwell's army, the rest passed over the Barrow into the County of Kilkenny and broke down the bridge behind them.

Cromwell's army had suffered severely from dysentery and the fatigues of the march. He, nevertheless, advanced with a detachment of his army to the important fortress of Duncannon, and summoned it to surrender. Colonel Wogan, however, who had the command of the troops, and Thomas Roche, the governor, were true to their charge, and resolutely declared it to be their resolve not to yield while a single cartridge remained. Cromwell next endeavoured to secure an entrance by means of the usual golden key, and a young English officer of the garrison undertook to admit the enemy's troops. So vigilant, however, was the governor that the deed of treachery could not be executed, and Cromwell, full of rage, returned to Ross. The traitor-officer, however, under pretence of leading out his troop for forage, went over to the Puritan army. In the meantime, the bridge was being repaired over the Barrow at New Ross, and Ormonde having retreated with his army, the castles of Inistioge and Thomastown were deserted by their garrisons, and soon fell into the enemy's hands. Carrick, seated upon a rock, was considered to be impregnable by its natural position. It, nevertheless, made no defence. Several stories have been circulated by later historians to account for the disgraceful circumstances of its surrender. The Rinuccini MS., however, sets them to rest, for it expressly attests that at the first summons the English officer, who had been appointed to its command by Ormonde, surrendered the castle, and with a considerable body of the garrison joined Cromwell's army. At first it appears difficult to explain these acts of treachery, which we see repeated again and again almost in every instance where there was a fort, or town, or city confided by Ormonde to the charge of English officers. But we must bear in mind that all the national and religious sympathies of the English soldier linked him with his Puritan opponent, whilst he regarded the Irish Catholics with aversion and hatred. But there was more even than this. So far as the battlefield was concerned, the royal cause was now irretrievably lost in England. The nation had at length acquiesced in the Parliament government, and why should the English officers, who now happened

to serve in Ireland, continue the struggle fighting against their countrymen, and exposing their own lives to danger in a futile attempt to reverse a conclusion which was already foregone. If the King was to be restored in England, they should conciliate the English nation, and this result was to be achieved by diplomacy, and not by the sword. Hence it was that some of the leading statesmen who adhered to the royalist cause, now looked forward anxiously to the triumph of the Puritan troops in Ireland as a necessary preliminary for those negotiations, which were one day to restore Charles the Second to the throne of England. On the 12th of February, 1651, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Clonfert, with other dignitaries of the Irish Church, addressed a letter in common to the Nuncio Rinuccini, then in Italy, in which, describing the events of the preceding year, they declare that, whilst the Irish Catholics were combating against the common enemy as best they could, Lord Ormonde spent his time between his castles in Loughrea and Clare, doing nothing to promote the interests of the nation, but engaged with Inchiquin in amusements and banqueting, and never displaying greater signs of joy than when the news arrived of the capture of some Irish fort or some victory of the Puritans: "apud Loghreagh et apud castrum de Clare in Thomonia per vices sedem habens, nulla re ad bonum regni seu gesta seu decreta, luxui, laetitiæ, choreis ac compotationibus cum Insequinii Barone se dedit, nulloque unquam tempore in lætitiam magis effundi notabatur quam cum victoriam hostium et Catholicorum castrorum expugnationem audiisset." (*Rinuccini MSS.*) The Bishops assembled at Jamestown repeat the same accusation:—"That his Excellency (Ormonde) and Lord Inchiquin, when enemies to the Catholics showed great activity and raged against us with inhuman cruelty, and shed the blood of innocent and helpless Priests and other ecclesiastics, but since this Peace was concluded have not been energetic and solicitous for the public welfare: and during several months they lived in Connaught and Thomond, where no danger and no enemy appeared, spending their time, as was remarked by many persons, in play, and pleasure, and merriment, and banqueting, whilst the enemy was fiercely and energetically invading and oppressing the other parts of the Kingdom: so that it was generally believed that they cared and grieved but little at the loss of the Kingdom to his Majesty."

In the Manifesto which the Bishops of Ireland thus assembled

in Jamestown, addressed to their flocks in the month of August, 1650, they complain that Cromwell was allowed to restore the bridge for his army at New Ross which enabled him to pass into the County of Kilkenny, and to ravage with impunity all the rich valley between the Barrow and the Suir. The translation of their Address, published by Fr. Peter Walsh and by Cox, gives their complaint as follows: "The enemy made a bridge over the river of Ross (a wonder to all men, and understood by no man) without any let or interruption, our Forces being within seven or eight miles to the place, wherein 200 musqueteers at Rossberkin, being timely ordered, had interrupted this stupendous bridge and made the enemy weary of the town." This has led Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., into a strange error. Cromwell, he says, whilst the siege of Ross was going on "employed some of his troops in making a bridge of boats across the Barrow. The Irish, it would seem, knew nothing of such bridges, for in Jamestown declaration it is spoken of as a wonder to all men but understood by no man." (Cromwell in Ireland, page 218.) The original text, however, of this important document says nothing of a bridge of boats and does not refer the wonder of the people to the bridge itself so much as to the inactivity or treachery which alone could have allowed the bridge to be thrown over so wide and rapid a river almost in sight of the whole royalist army, and without the slightest effort being made to interrupt the work. The genuine text is as follows: "hostis instauravit pontem magno illi quod Rossipontum alluit flumini superstructum (res omnibus miraculi loco habita, nulli quare id factum vel permissum prorsus intellecta) nulla data resistentia aut oppositione." This indeed was only one of the many complaints which brought into bold relief the duplicity or the bad generalship of Ormonde. At the time that Cromwell advanced towards Thomastown, 2,000 chosen troops from Ulster, under the command of Henry O'Neill, son of Owen Roe, had joined the royalist army. Those experienced soldiers saw at a glance the mistake which Cromwell had fallen into, and asked to be allowed to make use of the opportunity he had at length afforded of avenging his many deeds of cruelty. He had separated himself from his supplies on the sea coast, and had got himself into a regular cul-de-sac. Waterford and Duncannon were closed against him, and his army, now weakened by disease, was hemmed in between the Barrow and the Suir. Ormonde, however,

paid no attention to their proposals, and without firing a shot, marched back the whole army to Kilkenny. Cromwell on his part made haste to remedy the blunder which might so easily have proved disastrous to him. He recrossed the bridge at Ross and entered the county of Waterford at Passage.

Waterford was now marked out for attack. Ormonde insisted on handing over its command to Lord Castlehaven to garrison it with English troops. The citizens however had fully realized the meaning of such a proposal and refused to admit Castlehaven or his troops within the city. They asked indeed that a detachment of the Irish troops might be sent to them, and we find it recorded as a matter of boast by the panegyrists of Ormonde that he at once forwarded to the city a reinforcement of 1,500 Ulstermen. The Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Patrick Comerford, however gives quite a different account of this transaction. The citizens, he says, petitioned Lord Ormonde to send to their succour some of the Irish troops who had recently joined his camp. This Ormonde peremptorily refused. Their agents on his refusal proceeded to the Bishop of Clogher, now commanding the forces in Ulster, and he dispatched without delay 500 men under Lieut. General O'Farrell, who set to work in true military style to prepare for the defence of the city. Ormonde seeing this, permitted 1,500 men from his Irish contingent to join the garrison. When Cromwell came before the walls he endeavoured to open the gates by the usual golden key, but he had now to deal with stern determined men. O'Farrell would allow no one but himself to hold any communication with the enemy, and he requested Cromwell's trumpeter to return to his master with the message that there were now 2,000 Ulster soldiers in the garrison, and that whilst any one of them survived the city would not be surrendered. (Rinuccini MS.) Cromwell very soon broke up his camp and retired to seek his winter quarters in the more friendly towns of the South.

In the beginning of December, 1649, there was a general meeting of the Irish Bishops at Clonmacnoise. Dr. Rothe was unable through infirmity to attend, but the acts of the assembled Prelates present the name of Edmund O'Dwyer, who signed them as Bishop of Limerick and "Procurator of the Bishop of Ossory." The four Archbishops, with fifteen Bishops, took part in this assembly, and five other Bishops were represented by Procurators. In their

Resolutions and Decrees they exhort the faithful to be united in charity and concord, to bury in oblivion all the past dissensions, and to put forth all their strength "to forward by counsel, action and device the advancement of his Majesty's rights and the good of this nation." Many persons had already begun to delude themselves by the vain hope that favourable conditions were te be obtained from the Puritan enemy. To undeceive them, the assembled Prelates "declare as a most certain truth that the enemy's resolution is to extirpate the Catholic Religion out of all his Majesty's dominions, as by their several covenants doth appear and the practice wherever their power doth extend." Another decree enacted that all Archbishops, Bishops, and other ordinaries within their respective Dioceses would enjoin public prayers, penitential exercises, the approaching of the Sacraments, and other works of piety, in order "to withdraw from this nation God's anger and to render them capable of his mercies." All the Pastors and Preachers are also instructed "to preach amity, and for inducing the people thereunto to declare unto them the absolute necessity there is for the same, and as the chief means to preserve the nation against the extirpation and destruction of their religion and fortunes resolved on by the enemy." In fine the penalty of Excommunication is enacted against "those highway robbers, commonly called the Idle Boys, that take away the goods of honest men or force them to pay them contribution," and likewise against all who would encourage or assist or harbour those miscreants.

We have already seen how a tumult arose in the city of Kilkenny when an attempt was made by the Supreme Council to lead off to prison some Franciscan Fathers who refused to repudiate the censures of the Nuncio Rinuccini. The Franciscans were at the time the most numerous religious order in the Kingdom, and their influence with the old Irish and with the military was very great, for almost all the army chaplaincies were entrusted to them. Father Makiernan was the Provincial of the order in Ireland, and was an ardent supporter of the Nuncio. When he was passing into Connaught from some houses of the order in Munster he was arrested by order of Clanrickarde, the commander of the forces in the western province, and thrown into prison. Queen Henrietta, the widow of Charles the I., used her influence at the French court and at Rome for the appointment of a Visitator and Commissary General, invested with full

authority to examine into the proceedings of the Irish Franciscans. Father Carron, then living in Belgium, a man remarkable for piety and austerity of life, but without prudence or experience, was deputed for this arduous task, and in the summer of 1649 he convened a general chapter of the Fathers of the order to be held in Kilkenny. By far the greater number refused to attend. The agents of the Lord Lieutenant, they said, had had recourse to threats and violence in order to intimidate those who, as a matter of conscientious duty, adhered to the Nuncio. Four times the Franciscan Convent in Kilkenny had been subjected to violence by the Ormondists. The Provincial himself had been imprisoned without the pretence of crime, except his devotion to the representative of the Holy See; and, therefore, they protested that the deliberations of the Chapter in Kilkenny would not be free, and they declared that they would regard as null and void any resolutions that might be adopted there. Father Carron, before his departure from France, received instructions from Father Luke Wadding in Rome, who had now become favourable to the views of the Ormondist party, and from Queen Henrietta, urging him to adopt strict measures to enforce conformity with the Peace and with the wishes of the Lord Lieutenant. He no sooner arrived in Ireland than a letter was forwarded to him by George Lane, Secretary of Ormonde, enclosing a list of 24 Fathers of the Order, whom he was requested to punish in some signal way as the most refractory against the decrees of the late Supreme Council. The specific charges set forth against these zealous Fathers furnish a faithful picture of those disturbed times. Father Makiernan and six others, who held the highest offices in the Order (it is said) had assembled in the County Cavan in the enemy's quarters, and had there deposed from every post of authority all who were supposed to be partial to the Supreme Council. F. Bernard Quinn was accused in particular of having stirred up the Kavanaghs and their "idle boys" (pueros otiosos) in the County of Wexford to rebellion, and had written a letter to Rome, which was intercepted, and published by the Parliament in London, asking the Pope to depose the King of England, and to transfer the Crown of Ireland to some of the Northern Irish. F. Patrick Brennan, Superior in Kilkenny, was accused of having openly declared that it was better to negotiate a peace with the Puritan Parliament than with Ormonde, and he had, moreover, pronounced a

discourse in Galway in praise of Owen Roe and condemnatory of the Supreme Council. F. Reilly, also of the Convent in Kilkenny, had fled to the camp of Owen Roe, and had thence kept up correspondence with the Dean of Fermo, who was detained a prisoner in Kilkenny. F. Synnot, Guardian in Wexford, had issued a mandate to his community that none of them should speak in favour of the peace or of the Ormondist party. F. Fox had falsely and maliciously (falsam et turpem imposturam) reported that the Supreme Council had offered him £100 to induce him to sign the approval of the famous Queries. F. Dalaghan had counselled Captain Gawney to hold the castle of Athlone against the Supreme Council. And so with the other Fathers. All were accused of strenuously upholding the censures, and combating against the Ormondists, and of no other crime. On the 9th of July, the Bishops of Limerick and Ardagh, and two other representatives of the Council of the Lord Lieutenant, waited upon Father Carron, urging him to take immediate steps to enforce obedience, and to check the violence of the refractory brethren. The same day Lord Castlehaven, commander in chief of the cavalry, visited him on the part of Ormonde, and submitted a paper, divided into the following thirteen heads, setting forth the various measures which the Lord Lieutenant judged to be essential for the peace of the Kingdom:

1—His Excellency demands justice against the incendiary (incendiarios) friars whose names were given on the list already forwarded to the Commissary.

2—That those who stirred up tumult in Kilkenny would receive condign chastisement according to the laws of the Catholic Church and the statutes of their order, "juxta leges Romanæ Ecclesiæ et statuta ordinis."

3—That he would remove all the suspected superiors (omnes superiores suspectos), and in particular the friars named in the list already referred to, from every office, especially in the important towns, "præcipue in locis maritimis et civitatibus aliisque locis consequentiæ."

4—That those who were deposed in the Chapter in Cavan would be restored to their former posts.

5—That all the friars in Kilkenny be required to take the oath of allegiance according to the articles of the Peace.

6—That all the Religious brethren throughout the Kingdom be compelled to take the same oath of allegiance.

7—That all the friars attached to the Ulster army be ordered to quit the camp of Owen Roe.

8—That all the friars who by word or deed had sanctioned the rebellious course pursued by Owen Roe be declared traitors and incapable of holding any office in the order.

9—That the friars now stationed in the royal quarters, be also declared traitors, should they pass to the quarters of Owen Roe, or correspond with any person there without the Viceroy's sanction.

10—That the Religious brethren be obliged to denounce all those who in any way would adhere to the King's enemies.

11—That some Religious councilors be chosen whose duty it would be to make satisfaction for the insults offered to the King and to promote the interests of the order.

12—That the promoters of recent tumults be punished according to the measure of punishment allotted to sedition.

13—Should these things be carried out by the Father Commissary, the Franciscan order will be protected by the Viceroy and maintained in all its prerogatives and privileges, and the refractory friars shall be compelled to show due obedience to his commands.

The better to ensure obedience to Father Carron's authority, the patents of his appointment were submitted to the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics, then resident in Kilkenny, and on the 13th of June, 1649, were duly witnessed as authentic and valid, and as imposing under the gravest penalties the obligation of obedience on all the Franciscans of the Kingdom, by the Bishops of Ossory, Meath, Limerick, and Ardagh, also by Fathers Robert Nugent, John Young, and Robert St. Leger, Jesuits, and some distinguished members of other religious orders.

Father Carron, before the close of July, set to work in earnest to carry out the wishes of the Lord Lieutenant. He issued sentence of deposition against Father Mackiernan and other adherents of the Nuncio, appointing the Ormondist friars to the various posts of authority in their stead, and among others he appointed Father Peter Walsh to be the superior of the order in Kilkenny. These proceedings excited in Kilkenny and throughout the Kingdom, a violent commotion, the more so as the Father Commissary appeared to exceed

the powers of his commission, which were limited to the following heads:—1st, to promote concord: 2nd, to correct abuses: 3rd, to withdraw the Religious brethren from political agitation and to reconcile the conflicting parties among the Confederates, "salva Ecclesiæ authoritate et fidei Catholicæ integritate." Very soon the whole matter was referred to the authorities in Rome. Father Carron's commission was recalled, the Acts of the Kilkenny chapter were cancelled, and in after years we find the Father Commissary living for some years in London, the friend and admirer of Father Peter Walsh and his associates.

In the month of August, 1649, the plague made its first appearance on the Western coast of Ireland. From the Rinuccini papers we learn that the contagion was brought to Galway by an English vessel carrying supplies for the royal army. The war during the preceding years, the hardships that had befallen our people, and the widespread desolation of the open country that followed in the train of the Puritan army, prepared too well the soil of Ireland for the seeds of pestilence and now rich and abundant was the harvest of death. Wherever the Cromwellian troops advanced they plundered the country and they consumed by fire whatever the sword could not destroy. "Quid memorem plurimas alias miserias versam belli aleam comitantes tanquam pedissequas incendia, rapinas, vastationes, diripiendi licentiam, privata publicaque latrocinia ac deprædationes tanto hostilitatis æstu ac furore ut hæretici nihil magis in votis habere se demonstrarent quam totam Insulam sanguine Catholico cruentare, et quos gladio non perdidissent ita rebus omnibus ad vitam sustentandam necessariis spoliare ut ipsa fame et nuditate conficerentur" (*Rinuccini* MS., 1984 b.) Before the close of the year the terrible disease extended its ravages to Kilkenny. It was not unlike the malady known in England as the Black Death. Few of those who were attacked by it survived more than a few hours, whole families were swept away, and the medical art seemed to have no resource that could stop the contagion or bring relief to the sufferers. Many of the citizens sought for safety in flight, but wherever they went the same terrible malady stared them in the face. In Waterford 5,000 of the citizens were swept away by the plague: its victims in Dublin were reckoned at 30,000 In Kilkenny the population was lessened by one-third, and the same proportion of deaths was found in the army, the garrison being in a

few months reduced by the disease, from 1200 to 400. The aged Bishop, full of tenderness for his flock, caused himself to be carried from house to house to bring consolation to the sufferers and to minister to their wants. Several of the clergy caught the contagion in the exercise of their sacred ministry and died true martyrs of charity. The name of the Rev. Patrick Lea is commemorated with special eulogy. This heroic man was untiring in administering the Sacraments to the sick and the dying, but not content with this he endeavoured moreover to assist them in their temporal wants: he became the servant of the poor, discharging for them the most loathsome duties, and he closed their eyes in death, and when all others had forsaken them he dug their graves and on his shoulders bore their corpses to their resting place. It was whilst performing this last-mentioned voluntary task of his apostolate of charity that he himself caught the contagion and he expired a true martyr only a few days before the arrival of Cromwell's army at the city gates. "Rev. Patrick Lea, a man held to be a Saint by all who knew him, thus runs the contemporary narrative, was employed in the service of those who were struck down by the plague. He was well versed in all kinds of learning, even in the knowledge of medicine; for this reason it was the wish of all the citizens that he would undertake that duty. But owing to the excessive ardour of his charity and zeal, which knew no bounds, his career was short. Not only did he untiringly hear the confessions of the plague-stricken, give them Holy Communion and Extreme Unction, and bestow on them all the spiritual aid they needed; but besides he was unceasing in attending to their bodily wants, supplying them with medicines, preparing their food, and cleansing their sores. It happened that a poor man whom he was attending died, and as the body was spreading contagion all around, Father Lea without waiting for the help of others took up the corpse in his arms and carried it to a neighbouring cemetery, and digging a grave, buried it there. Owing to the heated state in which he was and to the contact with the putrid corpse, he was stricken down by the fatal disease on the 24th of March, 1650, to the edification of those who witnessed his charity and to the great grief of the citizens." (*Spicilegium Ossoriense II.* 57.) Father Fiacre Tobin, of the order of Capuchins, and Father John Dalton, a Franciscan, both natives of the County Kilkenny, were also remarkable

for the devotedness of their zeal. We will, after a little while, meet with them again, for, a few years later, the former had the merit to become a Confessor for the Faith, whilst the latter was further privileged to seal his teaching with his blood. A few days before the siege of Kilkenny by the Puritan troops, Father Christopher, a Capuchin, received an order from his superiors to proceed to the territory bordering on the Slieve-Bloom range of hills to assist the suffering population who stood in great need of spiritual assistance. He went to the Bishop's residence to bid him farewell. The aged Prelate, who cherished the good father with particular affection, said to him, with great emotion: This order to depart which you have received forebodes evil to us; it is to me a warning that ruin will quickly fall upon this city and upon our nation. And then embracing Father Christopher, and bursting into tears, he cried out: "*Fascinavit nos Ormonius*," "Ormonde has betrayed us." (*Rinuccíni* MS. fol. 2036.)

Early in February, 1650, Cromwell left his winter quarters, and after occupying Fethard, Cashel, and Thurles, marched towards Kilkenny. He looked on the Capital of the Irish Confederates as already his own, for one of Ormonde's officers, named Tickle, had covenanted to surrender the city to him on condition of receiving £4,000, besides a high command in Cromwell's army, and the post of Governor of Kilkenny. "If your Excellency will draw before this town," (thus wrote the traitor,) "I shall send a messenger unto you upon your first approach, and shall give you an account of the weakest part of the town and the force within exactly, and what else I shall find or you may direct me to be most necessary for you.' (*Carte* MSS., vol. 26). The correspondence however was discovered, and the traitor suffered the penalty of death, which he so justly deserved. Cromwell, on hearing of his fate, retired from the city and laid siege to Callan.

Callan was at this time a walled town of considerable strength and defended by three castles. Sir Robert Talbot, one of Ormonde's officers, was appointed governor and chief in command, and it was said that he had already arranged with Cromwell for its surrender. A small castle or outwork, however, was held by an Irish officer, named MacGeoghegan, who, with his small company of 100 men, offered a determined resistance. Three times they repulsed the assault of the enemy, but no succour being sent to them by the Governor,

and being overwhelmed by numbers, they were at length every man put to the sword. Three hundred Puritans had been killed in the repeated assaults, and at the last attack Captain MacGeoghegan, before he succumbed, was said to have slain twenty of the assailants with his own sword. His wife displayed no less valour. She hurled stones and other missiles upon the assailants, and was herself left for dead, being covered with wounds. Next day, however, this brave woman was picked up alive, and she was still living thirty-five years later in the reign of James the Second, when the Aphorismical Discovery which relates the fact was written. (See this valuable work, edited by Gilbert, vol. 2, page 64.) Talbot with his troops at once surrended and were allowed to march away with their baggage, but without their arms, and so enraged was Cromwell at the opposition which he had met with at the hands of these few devoted Irish soldiers, that he gave up the town to be pillaged, and ordered all its inhabitants to be put to the sword: "cives omnes ad unum . . . trucidari jussit." (*Bruodin*, Propugnac. page 683.)

It was not till the 22nd of March, 1650, that Cromwell began operations against Kilkenny. James Archdekin was at this time Mayor; James Walsh had the charge of the Castle, but Sir Walter Butler, of Ballyhale, was military Governor of both the Castle and the city. The garrison was so reduced by the plague that it did not number more than about 400 fighting men, besides one troop of Lord Ormonde's cavalry; nevertheless, aided by the citizens, their defence of the city was most heroic. The Rinuccini MS. in a few words commemorates the bravery of the defendants: "Cromwellus Kilkenniam obsidione incinxit quam cives ac pauci milites licet pestis in urbe grassaretur et plures pene tetra lue quam hostili gladio perirent, per aliquot dies mira animi magnitudine defensarunt." Taylor, in his History of the Civil Wars in Ireland, also speaks of the defence of the city in terms of the highest eulogy, and adds that were it not for the treachery of some of those within the walls Cromwell would have abandoned the siege. The particulars of this memorable siege are set forth in minute detail by Father Denis Murphy, S.I., in his interesting work, "Cromwell in Ireland," pag. 293 to 319.

Sir Walter Butler had left nothing undone to strengthen his position and to gather additional troops for the garrison. Lord Dillon, and his detachment of 2,000 men, were ordered by the

General-in-Chief for Leinster to repair to Kilkenny, but he replied that his men were so terrified by the reports regarding the plague that they refused to march towards the doomed city. The small garrison at Sandford's Court, then known as Cantwell's Castle, a few miles from Kilkenny, were asked to come in haste to join in the defence of the city: "But the officers, being English, Welsh, and Scotch, sent some of their number to Cromwell, offering him possession of the castle, and asking money and passes to go beyond the sea to serve in the armies of foreign states. He accepted their terms on condition that they should do nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament of England." (Cromwell in Ireland, p. 295.)

Cromwell's head-quarters were placed at the Moat, beyond the Black-quarry, now known as Cromwell's hill. His cannon soon shattered the old city wall, and a large breach was effected in front of the present parochial church of St. Patrick's, but Sir Walter Butler erected earthen breastworks within the wall, strengthened with palisades. A storming party, led on by Lieutenant Colonel Axtell, twice attempted to enter the breach but were each time repulsed with great slaughter, no fewer than six-hundred of the Puritan assailants being slain. The assault was ordered a third time, but they refused to advance, for they had learned to their cost that the counterworks completely commanded the breach on the inside. Cromwell, himself, when he had got possession of the city and examined all the works, wrote: "It was a mercy to us that we did not further contend for an entrance there, it being probable that if we had, it would have cost us very dear." Irishtown, which embraced St. Canice's Cathedral, and that portion of the city, which lay beyond the Bregagh, had its own line of defence. The first assault made there was also repulsed, but all the garrison being required for the main point of attack that part of the city was after the first few days left undefended and was occupied by the enemy. On the 27th of March a breach was made with pickaxes in the wall adjoining St. Francis's Abbey, close by the place where the Bregagh joins the Nore. A considerable body of the Cromwellian troops obtained an entry here, but they were quickly driven back, and most of those who had entered were slain. Eight companies of foot, under Colonel Gifford, next attempted to storm St. John's gate and thus effect an entrance into the city. They advanced very resolutely but were received with a galling fire which

compelled them to retire, leaving more than a hundred of their men wounded or slain. So many repulses were enough to make Cromwell hesitate as to the expediency of continuing the siege, but the Governor seeing that his few brave soldiers were exhausted by continual watching at their posts and despairing of any succour from without resolved to make as good conditions as he could by a timely surrender. The garrison was allowed to march out with military honours, the citizens were to be protected in their persons, goods, and estates, but with the exception of a hundred muskets and a hundred pikes, the soldiers were to surrender their arms to the troops appointed to receive them at the distance of two miles from the city. The city surrendered on the 28th of March, and as the soldiers marched out with Sir Walter Butler at their head, they were complimented by Cromwell for their bravery: he said that they were gallant fellows, and that he had lost more men in the endeavour to storm the place than at Drogheda. The foot soldiers for the most part returned to their homes, but the troop of Ormonde's cavalry proceeded towards Westmeath, and passing by a country chapel at Ardmogher, wherein several of the neighbouring families had deposited portion of their property for safe-keeping, they recklessly plundered it. They then returned towards Waterford, but were refused admittance into that city. Sir Walter Butler retired to his castle at Ballyhale, and soon after died there. Great blame was attached to Ormonde for not making some attempt to bring relief to this city, being the Capital of the Confederation, and being moreover a place of such strategical importance for all Leinster. In his defence he replied that he had not a single troop at his disposal. The facts of the case however did not tally with his excuse, for at the very time that Kilkenny was thus abandoned to its fate, he was trying to obtain admittance for the army under his command into Limerick, which the citizens of that old Catholic city persistently refused.

Colonel Axtell was appointed Governor of the city for the Puritan Parliament, and throughout the whole period of his government displayed a barbarous cruelty in his dealings with the Catholic citizens, and in particular in his enmity against the clergy. He had held the command of the foot guard on the memorable 30th of January, when King Charles was executed on the scaffold erected at the gate of the Royal Palace. After the Restoration he was one of

the leading regicides who were excepted from pardon, and suffered the penalty, they so justly deserved, of death at Tyburn. Before execution he declared that nothing so afflicted his soul at that moment as some of the deeds of blood in which he had had a part in Ireland, and the writer who records this fact adds that the following was one of those deeds of cruelty thus particularly referred to. Sixteen or seventeen of the Catholic inhabitants of Kilkenny had been taken under special protection, but Axtell ordered them all to be put to death, and seized on everything that belonged to them.

The Puritan troops enraged at the losses they had sustained from a handful of brave soldiers, though they were pledged to respect the lives and property of the citizens, did everything in their power to show their hatred of our Catholic people and of the religion which they professed. Hence we find the churches profaned, the altars overthrown, the paintings and statues destroyed, and in a word, a relentless war waged against everything held sacred by the citizens. Search was made for the vestments and religious ornaments that had been concealed, and when they happened to be discovered everything was desecrated and plundered. The religious books, crucifixes, and other articles of devotion found in the private houses were thrown into the streets, and either burnt or carried off as booty. In one of his letters Cromwell had used the emphatic words: "As regards the clergy, they know what to expect at our hands." The manner in which they were treated by the victors in Kilkenny was no exception to the general rule. Dr. Patrick Lynch, of Galway, writing to the Secretary of Propaganda on the 1st of May, 1650, states that a report had reached him of the cruelties exercised in the city of Kilkenny, and "of a number of priests, religious, and citizens" having been put to death there. A regiment of cavalry was quartered in St. Canice's Cathedral, and the aisles were converted into stabling for the troopers' horses. The beautiful stained-glass windows were broken to fragments, the altars demolished, the stone-work ornaments defaced, and in a few weeks the work of centuries was at the hands of these iconoclast barbarians well nigh reduced to ruin. The Protestant Bishop Williams, in plaintful language, laments the sad disaster that had befallen this noble edifice: "The great and famous and most beautiful cathedral church of St. Kenny they have utterly defaced and ruined. They have thrown down the roof of it, taken away five great

and goodly bells, broken down all the windows, and carried away every bit of glass, which they say was worth a very great deal; and all the doors of it, that hogs might come and root, and the dogs gnaw the bones of the dead; and they broke down a most exquisite marble font, wherein the Christians' children were regenerated, all to pieces, and threw down many goodly marble monuments that were therein, and especially that stately and costly monument of the most honourable and noble family of the house of Ormonde, and divers others of most rare and excellent work, not much inferior, if I be not much mistaken, to most of the best, excepting the Kings' that are in St. Paul's Church or the Abbey of Westminster." He further states that most of the religious edifices throughout the Diocese were desecrated in like manner. The "fanatick limbs of the beast," he says, beheaded most of the churches, the roofs of them, both slates and timber, being quite taken off, and the walls thrown down even to the ground. Even when the Monarchy was restored under Charles the Second, these fanatics continued to display their hostility against their religious structures: "I found," he says, "the Cathedral Church and the Bishop's house all ruined, and nothing standing but the bare walls, without roofs, without windows, but the holes, and without doors. And when I desired Mr. Connel, my registrar, to begin to repair some places of that church, and to set up benches and forms, some of the Anabaptists (as we have good reason to think so) came in the night time, the church having no doors, and with axes and hammers or hatchets brake them down and carried them quite away, and did other unseemly abuses besides."

The large cross situated in the public square was a special mark for their irreligious fanaticism. Father Archdekin, himself a native of Kilkenny, in his Theologia Tripartita, published a few years later, thus writes: "There stands in the market-place of Kilkenny a magnificent structure of stone, of elegant workmanship, rising aloft after the manner of an obelisk. It is supported by four lofty columns, which bear the weight of the whole superstructure. You ascend it on the four sides of flights of stone steps; and above all on the highest point was placed a sculptured figure of the Crucifixion. After the occupation of the city by Cromwell's soldiers, some of them who were particularly remarkable for their impiety, assembled in the market-place, armed with their muskets, and directed many shots

against the symbol of the Crucifixion, in order that they might fully complete their irreligious triumph; and this their persecuting fury at length accomplished. But behold! the wrath of an avenging God quickly pursued the authors of this sacriledge. A mysterious malady seized on them, and affected them so that none survived more than a few days." Another contemporary narrative gives some further details of this deed of sacrilege: "Seven soldiers of the Cromwellian army, like seven unclean spirits, set themselves to destroy the crucifix. After firing at it for some time, they broke off the lighter portion of it, and returned in triumph to their dwellings. But of the number, six died almost immediately after, three on that same day and three on the day following. The seventh I know not what happened him. The facts became known to the whole city, and served to confirm the Catholics in their veneration for the cross and to terrify in no small degree the heretics, its enemies."

When the Irish soldiers were marching out of the city, the aged Bishop endeavoured to accompany them. The Puritan soldiers however dragged him from the carriage in which he sat, tore from his shoulders the dress which concealed his rank, and threw to him a tattered cloak covered with vermin, and left him there to die. Such is the brief account given by the Archbishop of Dublin writing from Galway on the 6th of June, 1650: "Kilkennia tam a peste quam ab hoste vastata vidit suum præsulem Reverendissimum Davidem Roth, . . in curru pro fuga parato extractum, veste nudatum, et clamyde vili et vermibus scatente co-opertum, in loco abjecto repositum, ubi altero mense diem clausit extremum." (Spicilegium Ossoriense, I. 341.) Lynch, in his MS. Lives of the Irish Bishops, gives a more detailed narrative, and his account of the Bishop's death is probably the more accurate, as writing twenty years later he had the fullest opportunities for securing exact information. The Bishop in his carriage, he thus writes, "accompanied the garrison on its departure, but at the distance of two miles from the town, a troop of the enemy attacked and plundered the rear-guard, and seizing on the Bishop's carriage carried off one hundred pounds, which was all that he now possessed (illo curru vectus præsidium exiens comitatus est cujus ad bis mille passus progressi extremum agmen turma hostium aggressa diripuit, et eodem impetu in Episcopi currum irruens centum ei libras quas solummodo tum reliquas habuit, eripuit.) Wherefore

by Cromwell's permission he was brought back to his friends in the city, among whom he expired on the 20th of the following month of April, being 82 years of age. He was interred in the family tomb which his ancestors had erected in St. Mary's Church, his obsequies being duly performed by his friends according to the Catholic rites, and torches burning around his bier throughout the whole night that preceded his interment."

It was set forth in the articles of surrender that the Irish soldiers could retain their arms for two miles from the city, when they would hand them over to the Puritan troops; and it is probable that it was not until the arms had been surrendered that the Puritan freebooters began to attempt their work of pillage. Lynch informs us that Dr. Rothe had prepared his own tomb in St. Canice's Cathedral, but that there were difficulties in the way which prevented his being interred in it. One of these difficulties, no doubt, was that Axtell's cavalry were now quartered in St. Canice's. Lynch also adds that it was looked on as something little less than miraculous that "whilst the Puritans desecrated and demolished the rich tombs of the Butlers and other monuments that adorned the old Cathedral, they left untouched the monumental tomb which the Bishop had prepared, although it bore engraven on it figures of the Crucifix and the Blessed Virgin and other Saints, with an inscription in letters of gold to the effect that he had cleansed that Church of heretical corruptions and defilement (a sectariorum orgiis et sordibus), and re-dedicated it to Catholic worship on the 1st of October, 1644. It is also deserving of remark that whilst the other monuments and tombs were filled with the corpses of the Puritan strangers, neither the Bishop's monument at the Cathedral nor the tomb in which he rested at St. Mary's were ever defiled by any interment."

The monument erected by Dr. Rothe in the Cathedral was spared by the Cromwellian soldiery, but "quod non fecerunt barbari" it's inscription was in part effaced by the order of Bishop Parry, who a few years later was the Protestant incumbent of this see. This monument may still be seen in the Lady-Chapel at St. Canice's Cathedral. It is an elaborate Renaissance mural monument of black marble, and presents the outlines of an altar adorned at either side with statues of St. Kieran and St. Canice, with their names added underneath. St. Kieran wears the mitre, and holds in his hand the crozier. St. Canice

wears the religious hood, but holds the pastoral staff in his hand, whilst the abbatial mitre rests on the ground at his feet. Over the altar is represented our Saviour crucified, whilst the Blessed Virgin and St. John stand at the foot of the cross. Harris in his edition of Ware's Bishops states that the armorial devices and figures showed the remains of curious gilding and painting. The arms of the Rothe family—a stag trippant by an oak tree—are added, surmounted by the Episcopal hat, and having underneath the motto: "Virtute non Vi." The inscription runs thus:—

DEO. OPT. MAX.
ET
MEMORIÆ DAVIDIS EPISCOPI OSSO
RIEN QUI HANC ECCLESIAM CATHEDRA
LEM STO CANICO SACRAM
[A SECTARIORUM ORGIIS ET SORDIBUS
REPURGATAM PRISTINO CULTUI
RESTITUIT DIE PRIMO OCTOBRIS]
ANNO DNI 1642

Ortus cuncta suos repetunt matremque requirunt
Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil

The three lines within brackets were effaced by Parry, but are here conjecturaly supplied from the words already cited from Dr. Lynch, who wrote whilst the epitaph was still complete. In Shee's work on the Monuments in St. Canice's these lines are supplied from oral tradition as follows: "Pristino cultui restituit, hæresim schismaque exinde emundans:" and the same words are adopted by Dr. Graves, who, however, confesses that they are insufficient to fill up the three lines that were cancelled on the monument.

I have given in the words of Lynch the age of Dr. Rothe at the time of his death as 82 years. "Spiritum 20 Aprilis, octaginta duo annos natus, emisit." The same writer, when registering the birth of Dr. Rothe, expressly attests that he was born in the year 1568: "anno 1568, Kilkenniæ natus est." The Rinuccini MS. speaks of the Bishop as being in 1649 "octuogenario major." The author of the Aphorismical Discovery also declares that he was "upwards of foure score yeares ould" (vol. 1, page 272). According to the date, A.D. 1572, generally assigned for his birth by writers of the present day, Dr. Rothe would have only attained the age of 78 years at the time of his

demise. That date, however, appears to have no better foundation than the Consistorial entry which marks the Bishop's age as 45 at the time of his promotion to the Episcopate, but as I have already explained at page 273, this Consistorial statement refers rather to the year 1613, when Dr. Rothe was first nominated to the See of Ossory, than to the year 1618, when he was definitively appointed and consecrated. The testimony of Dr. Lynch in particular cannot easily be set aside, for in his "Alithinologia" he attests that for forty years he was united in the closest bonds of friendship with the illustrious Bishop of Ossory.

Father Shearman, than whom no one is more familiar with the traditions of his native city, writes, that the house on the north side of the Tholsel, between it and what is called the Butter slip, was the mansion in which Dr. Rothe's parents lived, and in which our Bishop was born. It was probably also the house to which he was allowed to return from his flight, and in which he died. At the time of the surrender of the city to Cromwell it was the property of Edward Rothe, nephew of the Bishop, who was one of those who on the part of the citizens, signed the articles of surrender, and remained as a hostage in Cromwell's camp till the conditions were fulfilled. "The old frame house with its quaint gabled front, with an oriel window, over a penthouse shop front, was occupied up to the first decade of this century by the descendants of Edward Rothe. They went to America. . . The old house was pulled down and the brick house between the Tholsel and Mr. Wall's house was then erected. Fortunately a sketch of the Market-cross of Kilkenny, taken before the year 1771, for the late Mr. Robertson, architect, shows Rothe's house in the back ground." The large building now known as Wolf's arch in Parliament-street was built in 1594 by John Rothe, one of the Bishop's brothers, and is a monument of the munificence and opulence of the Kilkenny merchants of the period. The Bishop appears to have resided there during the first years of his Episcopate. It is still popularly known as the Bishop's house. It was probably there also that the great Assembly of the Clergy was held in the month of May, 1642, to frame the rules and constitution of the Confederate government. There was a spacious garden attached to this mansion, extending to the city walls, as may be seen in the plan of the city, illustrated in the Kilkenny Archæological Society's Transactions for 1861, page

351. Lynch attests that this Ecclesiastical Assembly was convened by Dr. Rothe, and he refers more than once to its Sessions as held "in ædibus suis" and "in domo sua:" and he also states that all the Prelates in the interval between their Sessions recreated themselves "in the garden of Dr. Rothe's house." Soon after that important Assembly the Bishop appears to have made the Dean's house his official residence, as the record is still preserved that before the close of the year 1642 the portreve of Irishtown was sworn in before him, "he being then dwelling at the Dean's house." (*Graves'* History, &c., page 296.) Subsequently when the old Episcopal palace was renewed and put in proper order he transferred his residence thither, and his letters thenceforward were dated "Ex nova curia."

Several religious objects belonging to this period, now preserved in the Diocesan Museum or in the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, prove that the ceremonies of the church were carried out in this city with befitting splendour during the short interval of the triumph of the Confederate cause. The rich Monstrance which was handed down in the Bryan family at Jenkinstown, and is now the most prized and valuable object of our Diocesan museum is described by Dr. Graves in his History of St. Canice's, page 40. On the front of the ostensory, immediately around the centre in which the Blessed Sacrament was enshrined, are the words of the Apocalypse xxi. 3: "Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis;" and on the base of the monstrance is the inscription: "David Rothe Episcopus Ossoriensis me fieri fecit anno 1644. Ora pro clero et populo Dioecesis Ossoriensis." A small chalice of elegant form and elaborately chased, also handed down in the Bryan family, and at present preserved in our Diocesan College, has this inscription: "Ora pro D. Nicolao Cowly, proto-notario Apostolico, qui me fieri fecit in usum D. Jacobi Clari protonotarii, 1640." The Latin name *Clarus* corresponds to the old Kilkenny name of Cleere, of which we have representatives in the city to the present day. The tomb of the priest for whom this chalice was made may still be seen in St. Canice's, with this inscription:

D. O. M.
Eloquio Clarus virtute fideque Jacobus
Coelum mente habitans hoc habet ossa solo.

D. Jacobus Clarus Protonotarius et Rector ecclesiæ D. Joannis

Dioecesis Ossoriensis vir bonus et benignus, verecundus visu, moribus modestus, eloquio decorus, a puero in virtutibus exercitatus, Deo devotus, hominibus amabilis, et omnibus bonorum operum exemplis præclarus, obiit an. 1643, 14o Novembris, sub auroram, cum maximo piorum hominum luctu."

A religious processional banner, dating from the Confederate period, was discovered in 1849 in the Rothe mansion at Wolf's arch. The tenant on removing some of the wainscotting of the old house found concealed between it and the studding what appeared to be a roll of silk folded up into a small compass. On opening the roll it was found to be a green silk banner in excellent preservation. It measures four feet ten inches in height by three feet four inches in width, and is bordered with variegated silk fringe. On one side is painted the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, whilst the other presents a monstrance with the Sacred Host, surrounded by angels. On the lower part of the banner are depicted the city arms, viz.: a castle looped and crenelled with warders on the towers and at the gates. In the description of this beautiful banner given in the first volume of the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society (page 92), it is added that these figures are "represented in the steel cap of the period of Charles I., which rendered it extremely probable that this banner was contemporary with the Confederate Catholics, and was borne by some of the city guilds in the religious processions of that period. And we may also perhaps be allowed to conjecture that it was hidden when the City of the Confederates was compelled to yield to the victorious arms of Cromwell, at which time the discovery of such a relic would bring down heavy pains and penalties on its possessor." Rev. C. P. Meehan in a note to his interesting History of the Confederation, page 55, states that a banner which was discovered by him in Kilkenny in 1846, and which may have been belonged to the Confederates, is religiously preserved in the Dominican novitiate at Tallaght, County Dublin.

A portrait of Dr. Rothe, taken in 1644, has also been handed down at Jenkinstown Castle. The Bishop is represented in rochette and mozzetta, with simple cross and chain, and with a peculiar sort of cap, which has puzzled many of our archæologists. This, however, is nothing more than the usual Episcopal zucchetto, or house cap, such as is worn by the Spanish Bishops in their own residences to the present

day. The original purple colour being faded, makes this portion of the dress appear the more remarkable in the portrait of Dr. Rothe. The Rothe arms are introduced in the upper right-hand angle, with the date A.D. 1644. There are also added the three following inscriptions: "Beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur:" "In imagine pertransit homo et frustra conturbatur:" "David Episcopus Ossoriensis, æt. 72. Homo putredo et filius hominis vermis. Job." Whether the numerals which now appear in this last inscription belong to the original painting or were added at a later time, probably in the present century, cannot be at present decided.

In the Jenkinstown collection there is also an original portrait of Rev. Thomas Rothe, Dean of Ossory, which bears the inscription: "Thomas Roth, protonotarius Apostolicus prior commendatarius monasterii Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ Kilkenniæ et Decanus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Canici Ossoriensis Dioecesis, ætatis suæ 64. anno 1645." I have gleaned the following particulars of his life from Lynch's MS. History. He was nephew of the Bishop (Davidis Episcopi e fratre nepos). Having spent several years pursuing his studies in Rome, he became tutor to the son of a German Prince, and he availed of the leisure thus afforded him to write several works, which proved him to be deeply read in Theology, History, and Canon Law, and no less conversant with poetry and the classics. Lynch gives the titles of these works, which though they were written with great care, the author would not permit to be published. The first which he composed consisted of 17 Dissertations, entitled "Consultatio politico-didascala," and was addressed to the nobility of Ireland, contrasting the blessings of the true faith with the perishable advantages to which the profession of Protestantism entitled them. He also wrote "De metamorphosi Ecclesiastica," in which he set forth the gradual decay of truths and development of errors in the various heretical sects: "Intitutiones Civiles," which appears to have been a treatise on the civil law: and "De monasticorum jurium, rerum locorumque expugnatione in Insulis Britannicis." The most important, however, of his historical works were a History of the controversy which was carried on between the secular and regular clergy in Ireland in the year 1630; and "Porastasis immanissimæ lanienæ orthodoxorum Hibernorum," in which he faithfully sketched the horrible cruelties inflicted upon the Catholics of Ireland by the Puritan enemy in the

beginning of the war of 1641. These MSS., Lynch adds, were all carefully written and prepared for the press, but none of them were published. Thomas Roth was no less remarkable for piety than learning. He was asked by F. Scarampo to assume the responsible duties of Coadjutor to his venerable uncle the Bishop of Ossory, but he firmly declined that dignity. He died in 1649, and had for successor in the Deanery the Rev. James O'Phelan, who a few years later was promoted to the See of Ossory.

The nineteen years which followed the demise of Dr. Rothe were a period of sorrow and persecution for the widowed Church of Ossory. The Catholic clergy were classed by the Puritans with the wild beasts, and were hunted down with a persistent intensity of hatred for which we can only find a parallel among the Pagan persecutors in the early annals of the Christian Church. No detailed narrative of their sufferings has been handed down to us, but the occasional glimpses which contemporary records afford suffice to make known how much the heroic Priests of those days had to endure that they might be faithful in their duty towards their flocks and break to them the strengthening Bread of Life.

In a narrative compiled by the Jesuit Fathers, of which the original Latin text may be seen in the Spicilegium Ossoriense, vol. 2, pag. 43, the sufferings of the members of the Society are thus briefly sketched: "A few days after the death of Father Lea the city of Kilkenny was taken. Our Fathers sought to avoid the danger in various ways. One of them armed himself with a weapon and passed out with the soldiers, who were leaving the town. Another acted as servant in the house of a certain nobleman, and when waiting at table, often poured out wine and ale to the enemy. A third, in the disguise of a merchant, remained at large in the city and employed himself in administering consolation to the Catholics. Meanwhile the army of the heretics entering the town, overturned the altars, and profaned the images, crosses, and all other sacred things. They destroyed our house and oratory, sparing nothing that they thought belonged to a Jesuit. The sacred furniture of the altar had been hidden away; yet it was found and plundered. The books were thrown out in the streets and burned. The soldiers who were struck down by the plague were put into our house, which was turned into an hospital, and everything was profaned."

From the Rinuccini MS. we learn that Father Barnaby Barnewall, Commissary General of the Capuchins, was in the city of Kilkenny during the siege. He made his escape in the disguise of a soldier (gregarium militem ementitus), but was exposed to incredible hardships on the road from hunger and cold, intensified by old age and infirmity. He made his way, however, to his relative, the Countess of Fingall, in Meath, and during the following years, despite the bitter persecution (inter truculentissiman persecutionem) he continued to reside at her mansion, attending during all that time to the spirital wants of the vast adjoining district. As regards the secular clergy the same MS. adds that they all either attained the martyr's crown or were cut off by the plague or driven by the terrors of the most cruel persecution to seek a refuge in some recesses of the Kingdom: "reliquis de clero vel martyrio deletis, vel peste sublatis, vel persecutionis crudelissimæ metu in alios regni angulos dilapsis." The Memorial of the Langton family sets forth in one short sentence the whole history of the clergy of Kilkenny, so far as the arm of the Puritan Government could reach them, "all our clergy were expelled by the Parliament and the usurper, Cromwell." (*Trans.* of Kilk. Arch. Socy. for 1864, pag. 96.) Dr. Patrick Lynch, provost of Galway, writing to Propaganda on the 1st of May, 1650, also attests that according to the reports which had reached him the heretics had raged with great cruelty in the city of Kilkenny and had put to death a number of priests, religious, nobles, and merchants. (*Spicilegium Ossorien.* I, 344.)

After the death of the Bishop the Diocese of Ossory was administered by the Vicar-General, Bernard Fitzpatrick, or as his name is given in the Irish records, Bryan Mac Turlogh Fitzpatrick, who, towards the close of 1651, was confirmed as Vicar Administrator of the See by Edmund O'Dempsy, Bishop of Leighlin the only Bishop of the province, then residing in Leinster. In the Aphorismical Discovery it is said of this heroic ecclesiastic that he was "a zealous, religious, and pious priest, but within a short time after God did call him unto a better choice into glory, in remuneration of his virtues." (Vol. 2, pag. 175.) In the 'Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica' (cap. 6), and also in the 'Elenchus Encomiorum de Joanne Scoto,' by Father Bonaventure O'Connor, O.S.F. (printed at Bolzano, in the Tyrol, in 1660, pag. 307), it is further stated that this Father Bernard

Fitzpatrick, Vicar-General of Ossory, was of the noble family of the Lord Barons of Ossory, and having taken refuge in a cave, that he might shelter himself from the fury of the persecutors, he was tracked thither by the heretics, "who, there, beheaded the most holy man, who was famed throughout the whole Kingdom, and was remarkable alike for his life and learing, and lineage: his head was set upon a stake at the gate of one of the towns as food for the birds of the air, and the rest of his body was left to be devoured by the beasts of the earth." (Perillustris et Reverendissimus D. Bernardus Fitz Patrick, Presbyter, ex familia illustrissimorum DD. Baronum Ossoriensium seu de Ossory, quem ad quandam speluncam a rabie hæreticorum confugientem, hæretici insecuti sanctissimum virum, erat enim vita doctrina et prosapia conspicuus et in toto regno notus, capite plexerunt, in spelunca: caput in porta cujusdam oppidi infixa pertica in escam volatilibus coeli appenderunt, et carnes pro bestiis terræ reliquerunt.)

Father Denis Murphy, S.I., in his 'Cromwell in Ireland,' to which I have more than once had occasion to refer, thus writes: "There is a tradition still current in Kilkenny, that after the surrender of the town, some distinguished ecclesiastics took refuge from the violence of the soldiery in a secret chamber of the Dominican friary attached to the Black Abbey. None knew of their place of concealment except a few trusted friends, among whom was a woman named Thornton, who engaged to supply them every night with milk. This woman, for a bribe, betrayed the secret, and indicated to the Cromwellian soldiers where their victims could be found by spilling the milk along the road from the outer gate to the spot where the entrance to the secret chamber should be sought. The consequence was, that the ecclesiastics were dragged from their concealment and put to death. Their betrayer received a grant of land as her reward," (pag. 314.) This tradition is undoubtedly accurate in its general details of the massacre of 'distinguished ecclesiastics' who had sought a refuge in some retired spot from the terrors of the persecution that encompassed them. In one circumstance, however, the modern narrative appears to have deviated from the old tradition. It was not in the convent at the Black Abbey, but rather in one of the caves at Thornback, the site of the old Dominican novitiate, that the clergy were concealed, and it seems to me most probably that one of those distinguished Ecclesiastics who, in that silent retreat, received the martyr's crown

was precisely the Vicar-General, Bernard Fitzpatrick, of whom we have just spoken.

On the death of Bernard Fitzpatrick, about 1653, he was succeeded in the office of Administrator of the Diocese by "Sheane Fitz-Patricke, priest, Vicar-General of Ossory," (*Aphorismical Discovery II.*, 175), who, like his predecessor, was confirmed in that office by Dr. Edmund O'Dempsy, Bishop of Leighlin. When the heads of the Irish clergy met in Dublin in the year 1666, presided over by the Primate Edmund O'Reilly, to deliberate on presenting an Address expressive of their loyalty to Charles II., we find the name of "Terentius Fitzpatrick, Vicarius Apostolicus Ossoriensis," as one of those summoned to that assembly, and subsequently signing its acts, as may be seen in Peter Walsh's History of the Remonstrance. In an Italian list of the administrators of the Irish Sees in the year 1668, preserved in the Propaganda Archives, Rome, under the head of the Province of Leinster is given the name "Terenzio Patrizio Vicario Apostolico Ossoriense," which may be translated Terence Fitzpatrick, Vic. Ap. of Ossory. There is also in the same Archives a letter addressed to Cardinal Barberuni, and signed "Terentius Patritius, Vicarius Apostolicus Dioecesis Ossoriensis," dated from Kilkenny, the 10th of January, 1669. He had received a commission from Rome to unmask the assumed Apostolic authority of James Taaffe, O.S.F., the brother of Lord Carlingford. This Franciscan was betrayed into grave error by a forged Brief from Rome authorising him to hold a Visitation of the Clergy in the various Dioceses in Ireland, and to set aside all those who would be found unfavourable to the loyal remonstrance advocated by Peter Walsh and his associates. He had begun to act upon this spurious authority, and assuming an air of dignity, had summoned to appear before him several of the secular and regular clergy who were known to be hostile to this remonstrance. As soon as the Holy See became acquainted with the circumstances of the case, Cardinal Barberini, Protector of Ireland, wrote, among others, to Dr. Fitzpatrick, denouncing the imposture, and deputing him to intimate to the other Diocesan authorities in the Ecclesiastical Province of Leinster the authoritative condemnation of the proceedings of Taaffe. Dr. Fitzpatrick proceeded in person to communicate the Cardinal's instructions to the Vicar Capitular of Leighlin, but in his reply to Cardinal Barberini he excuses himself

for not proceeding to Ferns or Kildare or Dublin, "on account of the severity of the winter and the floods, and still more on account of his own infirmities and the threats of his opponents," and therefore he had requested the Vicar Capitular of Leighlin to be bearer to the others of the instructions from the Holy See. As regards Taaffe himself, he adds "he remains in Dublin, and shows no sign of setting out for France or Belgium as was commanded him." He concludes with the words: "Since we are here surrounded on every side by the followers of Peter Walsh and innovators in doctrinal matters, I request your Eminence to be pleased to let me know by letter whether it be lawful for us and our Catholic people to communicate with them at divine service, or to assist at Mass offered up by them." This fragment of Dr. Fitzpatrick's letter will be the more acceptable as it is the only one known to exist written by this zealous administrator of the See of Ossory in those perilous days of persecution: "Acceptis cum debita reverentia tuis litteris quibus et tenuitati meæ immeritum honorem præstitisti et de fraude et impostura Jacobi Taaffe sibi, ut verissime scribis, jurisdictionem in utrumque clerum auctoritate Apostolica vindicantis, certiorem fecisti, continuo me contuli ad vicinam Dioecesim Leighlinensem, et communicata epistola ac mente tua Vicario Capitulari ejusdem, qui (cum propter hiemis asperitatem et aquarum redundantiam et præsertim ob infirmitatem meam necnon minas adversariorum ulterius proficisci non voluerim) pollicitus est se vicinos Dublinensem, Fernensem, et Darensem de mandatis tuis quantocyus admoniturum . . . P. Taaffe totius confusionis architectus Dublini hæret, nec de præcepta profectione in Galliam aut Belgium verbum auditur . . . Cæterum cum Valesianis novorumque dogmatum fabricatoribus undique cincti et admixti simus rogo Eminentiam Vestram ut ad me scribere dignetur an nobis ac populo Catholico tuta conscientia liceat cum illis in divinis communicare eorumque sacris interesse." A few months after the date of this letter, Dr. Terence Fitzpatrick was summoned to his heavenly reward.

Among the clergy who, under the Puritan tyranny, laid down their lives ministering to the faithful of Kilkenny, Father John Daton, of the Order of St. Francis, deserves particular mention. A native of the county of Kilkenny he at an early age embraced the Franciscan rule of strict observance, and was remarkable for his piety,

gravity, prudence and spirit of penance. Throughout the fierce controversy regarding the censures and Interdict in 1648 he was always found at the side of the Nuncio, and his name appears in the address presented by the clergy to Monsignor Rinuccini, on the 5th of November, 1648. When the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, Kilkenny, was thrown into prison for refusing to abide by the instructions of the Supreme Council in the matter of the ecclesiastical censures, Father Daton, being the next in authority, became temporary Superior, and fearlessly followed the very course for which the Guardian had been imprisoned. After the surrender of the city to Cromwell he remained in Kilkenny in secular dress, and proved himself indefatigable by night and day attending the sick and comforting the dying by bringing to them the consolations of religion. On the 2nd of August, 1653, he was at length discovered and arrested together with a Capuchin laybrother and two Franciscan Nuns. It was the feast of the Portiuncula, and the crowds of the faithful who, on that day, flocked to the house in which Father Daton was concealed, that they might approach the Sacraments and gain the Indulgences, led to his discovery. At ten o'clock at night he was seized by the Puritan soldiers, and by order of the Governor of the city was thrown into prison. Next day he was brought before Axtell. He was interrogated as to his priestly character, his religious profession, the saying of Mass, the administering of the Sacraments, all of which he publicly avowed, and from which no earthly command would induce him to desist. He was sentenced to be hanged on the second next day with all the additional torture and indignities usually attendant on death for treason. He spent the interval in the most fervent exercises of penance and prayer, and "post sanctissimam jejunii, humiliationum continuarum et ardentissimarum apud Deum supplicationum præparationem," was led to the scaffold on the 5th of August, 1653. With every manifestation of joy and thanksgiving to God, he went to the place of execution, and being hanged and embowelled while yet alive, and quartered, he received the martyr's crown.

The two Franciscan Nuns, arrested on the same day with Father Daton, were sisters by birth as well as by religious profession. They lived retired in their house, and privately wore the habit as Tertiaries of the Order of St. Francis. They, too, were sentenced to death, but

an interval of 12 days was granted them that they might have an opportnnity if they so willed of saving themselves by renouncing their religious life. They had the consolation of being imprisoned in the same dungeon with Father Daton on the vigil of his martyrdom, and with dauntless heroism they resolved to emulate his fortitude and prepared themselves for death. Through the interposition of some friends, however, their sentence of death was commuted into banishment. They were put on board a vessel sailing for Spain, and they were received with joy into one of the religious houses of that Catholic nation.

The Capuchin lay-brother arrested on the same memorable 2nd of August, 1653, was called in his religious order Brother John of Dundalk, but his secular name was John Verdun. He was advanced in years and paralyzed, and was at death's doors through dysentery. He lived in a house adjoining the temporary Capuchin Convent, and all the books and furniture and religious ornaments of the scattered community had been consigned to his care. All these were now seized by the Puritans, and he himself was sentenced to death. Owing to his infirm condition, however, the sentence was not executed, and for ten months he lingered on in the common prison, enduring with the greatest constancy all the sufferings of a prolonged martyrdom. The Rinuccini MS. which gives these particulars, adds that for some time in prison he was not allowed even a bed to lie upon, and had scarcely any food. He had no means of his own to pay for food, and the Catholic people were so overwhelmed with calamities, and so ground down by spoliation and oppression of every sort that they could afford him but little aid. At length, in the beginning of June, 1654, he was taken from gaol, and in company with twelve Priests, who had been seized and sentenced to exile (cum duodecim sacerdotibus antea captis atque in exilium mandandis) was hurried off, surrounded by a body of soldiers, to Waterford. There they were again thrown into the common prison, where they were associated with the worst characters, and detained for six months awaiting a vessel to sail for the continent. The governor of Waterford, William Leigh, was a savage Puritan, "sævus Cromwellista," and he made use of every endeavour to induce his prisoners to renounce Popery and embrace what he was pleased to call his Gospel tenets. At length on the 25th of July, 1654, the good lay-brother was put on board a vessel bound for France, with an order of which the following literal

version from the English autograph is preserved in the Rinuccini MS.:—

Waterfordiæ Gubernator omnibus officialibus, militibus, navicularis, et aliis ad quos spectat.

Cum harum lator Joannes Verdunus sit religiosus per edictum hoc regno proscribendus, per præsentes rogamus omnes ad quos pertinet ut latori Joanni permittant et integrum faciant quamcumque navem in Franciam vel Flandriam transmissuram quiete et pacifice conscendere ea lege dum primam occasionem arripiat et sicut par est se gerat.

Dabam mea manu, 25o Julii 1654.

Guillelmus Leighus.

It was not, however, till the 14th of August that brother Verdun landed in France. He was there welcomed by his religious brethern as a Confessor for the faith, and every comfort was ministered to him, but weighed down by infirmities and the hardships of his imprisonment, he expired at the Capuchin Convent, Charleville, on the 15th of March, 1655.

All the exiles at this time sent into exile or transported to serve as slaves in the Tobacco Islands were not as submissive as Brother Verdun and his companions. The Rinuccini MS. mentions one instance of a large number of sufferers, whose only crime was their love of country and their faith, who, a few years later, were shipped in an English vessel from Waterford for Barbadoes. Every evening the captives were put in irons, and the hatches were closed down on them for the night, but by day they were allowed to roam freely on board the vessel. Their treatment on board was of the worst. The contemporary record states that they were fed like slaves, or rather like brutes, "mediastinorum imo brutorum instar in navi nutriti." And yet several of them were of noble birth (non pauci loco nobili nati). They were nearly all from the County of Waterford, and there were not a few skilled seamen among them. As they conversed together in the Irish tongue, which was not understood by the sailors, they arranged, when a few days at sea, to distribute themselves among the crew and the officials, and at the signal "Dia agus Padruic linn" —*God and St. Patrick be with us*—to seize them and make them their prisoners, and then to steer the vessel for France. The next morning the sea being calm, and the officers and men all basking in the enjoy-

ment of undisturbed tranquility, two or three of the exiles ranged themselves near each of the crew and others on board, and no sooner was the signal given, than each of the exiles re-echoed again and again the same invocation, "God and St. Patrick be with us," and almost without a struggle they seized on all the officers and men, and put them in the irons from which they themselves had been just freed. They steered the vessel to Brest, and sold it there after setting free the crew. Brest was at this time the great rendezvous for the Irish merchants, some of whom at their private expense fitted out cruisers, received letters of marque from the King, and became rich beyond measure by their depredations on the merchant vessels of the Puritans. Such numbers of our countrymen had settled at Brest, which, under the patronage of Cardinal Mazarine, was just then growing into importance among the French ports, that it seemed as if transformed into an Irish colony. The descendants of these exiles spread themselves over the neighbouring territory, and the names of many of them became illustrious in the annals of their adopted country.

We have already referred to the charity displayed by the Capuchin, Father Fiacre Tobin, a native of Kilkenny, who, from the first commencement of the plague, had devoted himself with most perfect self-sacrifice to the service of his suffering fellow-citizens. After the surrender to Cromwell, he continued with unwearied zeal to pursue his apostolate of charity, assuming at times various disguises the better to elude the vigilance of those who were in eager pursuit of the clergy. For a few months he was thus enabled to exercise the sacred ministry with impunity, but he was at length detected by a Puritan whose suspicions were aroused by the very appearance and demeanour of Father Fiacre, and judging him to be a Priest engaged in the administration of the Sacraments, pretended to be a Catholic and saluted him with the title of Father. This salutation threw the good Capuchin off his guard, He was at once arrested, loaded with irons in prison, and threatened with death, and for a time subjected to many hardships. Soon, however, the jaoler was appeased by gifts, and the prisoner was enabled to say Mass in prison, and even to converse with the faithful who came privately to visit him and to receive at his hands the Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist. After a time sureties were accepted for his peaceable

demeanour; the city itself was assigned him for his prison, and he was allowed full liberty within the city walls. When the decree of banishment was published against the clergy in 1653, he was sent into France, and on the 3rd of May, of that year, he addressed from Nantes a letter to his Superior at Charleville, on the Meuse, from which a few extracts will suffice to set before us in faithful and vivid colours the deplorable state of ruin and desolation to which the nation was at this time reduced: "Under penalty of death the clergy are now banished from every part of Ireland (sub pœna capitis totus clerus universa Hibernia interdicitur): not only the Priest but the person who shelters him, shall be judged according to the statutes enacted against such persons in England in Elizabeth's reign. As regards the Catholic laity, they are permitted to live in Ireland, but they are so ground down by the crushing weight of taxes and other burthens that they cannot endure it very long. When Kilkenny came into the enemy's hands, Father Barnabas, who was then Commissary, directed me to remain in the city, and I did so, although with reluctance, for it was painful to me and quite contrary to my wishes to lay aside the Religious habit and to assume the secular dress. I went around from house to house, administering to the families and household the Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist, and when summoned to assist those attacked by the plague I hastened at once to them. At length I was arrested by the heretics in the streets of Kilkenny and hurried off to the Governor, who interrogated me as to the houses in which I had said Mass, and as to the presence of other clergy in the city. I replied that I could not, with a safe conscience, bring others into trouble by answering such questions. He then cried out: You will be hanged on to-morrow. I said: I am prepared to die. He used these words merely to terrify me. I was led back to prison, and all that night prepared myself for death: but my imprisonment was prolonged for nine months. . . At the end of nine months the local magistrate allowed me to have the city as my prison, the Catholic citizens giving security that whenever called upon I would be ready to appear before the court. I was thus enabled to administer the Sacraments more freely than when I was in gaol, and sometimes I gave Holy Communion to forty, and even fifty or sixty persons, besides the instructions on the Catechism, which were given on the Sundays and holidays. The English always showed me the

greatest civility, but they made me pay for their hospitality. I had every night to pay four pence for lodging, but food and other things I stood in need of were abundantly supplied by the charitable Catholic citizens. Should it be in your power to forward missionaries to the island of San Christofe, I would ask you to send me thither, unless I may be permitted to return to Ireland, for that island, even more than Ireland, is in need of missionary aid, and moreover the Religious have full liberty at San Cristofe to instruct the ignorant, as a Jesuit, who is stationed there, lately wrote to a Priest in Kilkenny. Should you not have the faculty to send missionaries thither, it will be a matter truly pleasing to God to obtain it from the Sacred Congregation, for in that island there are several thousand Catholics (multa Catholicorum millia), with none but one Jesuit to break the bread of life to them."

The writer of the Rinuccini MS., himself, an Irish Capuchin referring to the Decree of banishment against the clergy, published on the 6th of January, 1653, in consequence of which Father Fiacre was exiled to France, attests that it was "most rigorously carried out (executio fuit exactissima), so much so that among the thousands of soldiers, at that time scattered throughout Ireland, there was scarcely a single one who was not either a spy, or a judge, or some such official of this barbarous persecution, so unrestricted was their power against the clergy and their harbourers and friends, and to such a degree was the fury of their cruelty intensified by the premium of £5 set upon each ecclesiastic's head. Wherefore it happened that the Irish clergy who had survived the famine, and pestilence, the sword fire and halter, were after this truculent decree, which showed forth the English barbarity in its true colours (immane illud et barbariem Anglicanam spirans edictum), were divided into two ranks, for some sought a refuge in France, Spain, Belgium, Germany, or Italy, whilst others, yearning to die for Christ, remained in Ireland. But it being impossible for those who remained at home to live in the houses of the Catholics they sought a secure retreat in the woods, or desert places, or in subterraneous caves, or the haunts of wild beasts, for they intrusted themselves rather to these than to the English, and in other like out of the way hiding places, where they constructed houses of reeds or huts or cabins, but even thus they dare not continue for any time in the

same place through fear of the spies, whole herds of whom were scattered throughout every corner of the Kingdom with an inconceivably perverse and malignant eagerness to ferret out the Priests" (quibus cum non esset tutum nec integrum in Catholicorum ædibus diversari, secesserunt in sylvas, solitudines, cryptas subterraneas, ferarum quibus magis quam Anglis se credebant lustra, aliaque id genus latibula et loca invia in quibus exstruebant sibi casas vimineas, tuguria et mapalia, ut tamen eodem diu loco consistere non auderent, ob metum speculatorum quorum greges integri per omnes Insulæ angulos diffundebantur incredibili in clero indagando nequitia et malignitate, fol. 2325. b.)

The law against harbouring a Priest, to which reference is made in the above narrative was not a mere matter of threat, but was rigorously enforced, and hence it was that the clergy rather than run the risk of adding to the hardships of their suffering flocks refused, in many cases, to avail themselves of the generous hospitality offered to them, and chose to live out in the bogs, or to seek a safe retreat in some hill-side cave or other out-of-the-way places. F. Morison, in his "Threnodia," published in 1659, relates what he himself had witnessed: "I myself have seen this iniquitous law put in execution in the City of Limerick by Henry Ingoldsby, the governor of that city. A gentleman of Thomond, named Daniel Connery, was accused of harbouring in his house a Priest, and being convicted on his own confession, although the said Priest had a safe-conduct from the Governor himself, he was sentenced to death, and the sentence being as a matter of mercy mitigated into confiscation of all his goods, and imprisonment was afterwards commuted for perpetual exile. He had a wife of a noble family of Thomond, and twelve children; his wife fell ill and died through want of the mere necessaries of life; and of his children, three handsome and virtuous girls were shipped as slaves to Barbadoes, where if yet alive they live in miserable slavery; the rest of his children, who were too young to work, are either dead of hunger or drag out a miserable life in the hands of their enemies. I also saw the law for denouncing a Priest put in force in the same Limerick, under the same Governor, in the year 1652, against a noble and honest Catholic of the name of Daniel Molloy, of Thomond, who coming to Limerick on account of some business, chanced to meet, at a Protestant inn, a Priest, a relative of his named David Mollony.

This Priest was afterwards betrayed and taken prisoner, and Daniel was summoned to answer why he had not informed the magistrates that there was a Priest there. He answered that he was a Catholic, and that there was no law obliging a person to denounce a Priest, although there was one not to harbour or feed him, and this was correct, for this clause was not added to the law till three years later. But notwithstanding this prudent answer, the governor ordered his ears to be cut off by the executioner, which was done. I could give a thousand such examples." The same writer gives his own experience of the treatment to which the Priests were subjected in prison, for he had the privilege of being himself a sufferer for the faith: "I, myself, passed thirty months in a dark dungeon, thirty feet underground, with irons of 47 lb. weight on my feet and hands, sometimes alone, sometimes in company of robbers, often beaten and wounded, and at last sent into exile. Now there are so few Priests left, that there are many Catholics, especially in Munster, who have not been able to receive the Sacraments for one, two, three, and even six years, and some have journeyed 120 miles to confess and receive the Blessed Eucharist once."

Father Fiacre Tobin having received the permission of his superiors which he had solicited, returned to Ireland, and with the merciless sword of the persecutors at every instant impending over his head, continued in season and out of season to instruct and console the faithful, and to encourage them in the practice of virtue. The Rinuccini MS. thus attests: "In Hiberniam remigravit, ubi per aliquot deinde annos, inter quotidiana mortis ab hæreticis inferendæ pericula, in multorum cordibus fidei germen plantavit, rigavit, conservavit." About the year 1656, however, he was again arrested, thrown into prison, and treated with great cruelty, and at length sentenced to perpetual slavery in the Barbadoes, a slow martyrdom, which for many of the victims of the Puritan tyranny had greater terror than death itself: "damnatus ad illam immanem servitutem ipso martyrio duriorem, quam plurimi Hibernorum in America animis reluctantibus deportati, ibi apud insulas ab Anglis recens habitatas laborem in Tobacco illis tyrannis conficiendo consumunt, non alia mercede quam rebus ad vitam aerumnosam et martyrium lentum protrahendum necessariis." (Foi. 2330 b.) Father Fiacre, however, accepted his sentence with joy. He had yearned to proceed to those islands as a

missionary for Christ, and now in the mysterious ways of Providence it would seem as if his prayer had been heard, and that the very enemies of the Church, in the frenzy of their persecuting spirit, would lead him thither. But heaven was content with his desire for martyrdom. He was put on board a vessel in Dublin, despoiled of everything that he possessed. The vessel, however, was compelled by stress of weather to put in to a southern port, and as he was seized with fever he was tranferred to the prison in Waterford. Here he spent five months in the greatest misery: "duri asseres erant lectulus febricitanti corpusculo, cervical lignum, putris et purulenta aqua potus, pisa semicocta et pauca reliquum nutrimentum." Overcome by the fever, and the hardships of his imprisonment, he expired at Kinsale, in the hands of the Puritan persecutors, whilst being again shipped on board the vessel for Barbadoes. I have been particular in putting together these details connected with the life of this zealous confessor for Christ, as in those days of peril and of martyrdom the history of one Priest may be regarded as the history of all the clergy. Even in the darkest hour devoted men were not wanting to minister to the spiritual needs of the faithful of Ossory. A Carmelite missionary, who presented in Rome a Report on the Irish Church, and in particular on the Leinster province, in the beginning of 1662, writes: "I know that in the County of Kilkenny there are several Priests, as well of the regular as of the secular clergy, who have their own Vicar General, as I have been informed by a Priest of that county." (Spicilegium Ossoriense, ii. 210.)

Two petitions presented to the King and to Lord Ormonde by the citizens of Kilkenny soon after the restoration of the monarchy, pourtray in the liveliest colours the many hardships which they had been compelled to undergo during the Cromwellian regime, and which they were still destined for some years longer to endure. Their address to the King is styled "The humble petition of the distressed, banished, and dispersed late native inhabitants and citizens of the city of Kilkenny." They proclaim that they had always been noted for their loyalty "in so much as that town in all times of peace and hostility hath been a refuge to all true subjects to the crown of England, and a terror to their enemies," and they had surrendered the city to Cromwell only when there was no hope of relief, "after suffering in a high degree all the extremities of the plague, fire and sword, and

four several storms in several parts of the city." They had, however, obtained quarter and fair conditions from the enemy, but Colonel Daniel Axtell being approved governor of the city "hath in the year 1653, without any order or direction, even according to those times, but out of his willful and imperious disposition and innated quarter—breaking mind and quality, seized upon your petitioners' charters, muniments, and ensigns of authority, and dispersed and banished as well their mayor and aldermen and other officers, as the petitioners themselves into several quarters; forcing them in an unseasonable time of the year to remove their habitations and sell their goods at an under-value, and for the most part to lose their household stuffe (property) for want of buyers. Since which time they lived and do live in a distressed and sad condition after they had been formerly impoverished in their personal estates and fortunes by heavy and unsupportable contributions, and other taxes and charges far beyond their abilities. All which the said governor Axtell did merely by the violence of the soldiery, and so contrary to the said Quarter, he having then the command of a regiment of foot and a troop of dragoons, sufficient forces to oppress your poor naked, armless, and distressed petitioners." The mayor of the city referred to in this petition as deposed by Axtell was Elias Shee, and at the time this petition was drawn up was "living in Connaught in a distressed condition."

In the letter to Lord Ormonde they set forth the calamities that befell them at the hands of the Puritan enemy, "subjecting us to the anarchical government of usurping, assassinate, and regicide men (if they may be so termed), who, casting off all humanity, turned into and became savages in cruelty, so as, to express ourselves in the civillest language that we can, we have endured the worst of miseries and far worse than Egyptian slavery." The object of their writing to him, they say, is that he may present their petition to his Majesty: "We presume out of our coverts and lurking places to present an address to his Majesty of some of our manifold grievances: we know well that we being not able to prosecute the same, it will die unless your Excellency will be pleased to give life to it by your countenance and favour."

On the 6th of March, 165$\frac{3}{4}$, the order was issued commanding all the Irish to quit the city of Kilkenny. In the county none were allowed to remain but ploughmen, labourers, and those whose land

or goods was of less than ten pounds value. Even such, however, were now banished from the city and forbidden to reside within two miles of its walls, for the Puritans of England had resolved to fill the cities and towns with a goodly race, and they deemed it inconsistent with their security that any Irish Papist should reside among them. It was difficult, however, to execute all at once this general decree of banishment, and on the 15th of May, 1655, the English and Protestant inhabitants ot the city obtained a further order from the Commissioners of Parliameet that "for the better encouragement of an English plantation in the city and liberties" all the houses and lands lately belonging to the Irish, and now in possession of the State, should henceforward be demised to English and Protestants, and to none others." But even this was not judged sufficient, and it was also ordered that no English merchants or traders should employ Irish agents and servants, and that all Irish should quit Kilkenny before the 4th of June, 1655, "except such artificers as any four justices of the peace would judge for the convenience of that corporation to license to stay for any period not exceeding one year."

If the Kilkenny Catholics hoped by the interference of Lord Ormonde to have their rights secured and their property restored to them, they relied upon a broken reed. Ormonde's chief anxiety just then was to enlarge his own estates and to uphold the English interest. Strange to say, it would seem as if the banishment of the Irish Catholics were even more strictly carried out now than hitherto: "Worthy cousin," writes Richard Shee from Kilkenny, at the close of the year 1660, "there are thirty-two artificers and shopmen whom the late Usurper thought fit to dispense from transportation, and are now commanded by strict order in twenty-four hours' warning, given them last Friday, to depart with their families." The Act of Settlement brought no relief to the banished Irish citizens, for it was so contrived that the new occupiers were not to be disturbed in the towns, and the native Irish were thus to remain deprived of their dwellings and properties, even though they should establish their unvarying attachment to the royal cause. The King indeed had the right of issuing Letters for restoring individual Papists, but the Commissioners were ordered in 1663 to suspend the giving of any decrees of innocence to Papists "who would claim house property in towns," and in 1665 the King declared that he surrendered altogether

this special power. Thus the Irish Catholics, so far as the Law could effect, were for ever debarred from their city possessions. No wonder that a contemporary writer should declare that such legislation was dictated by no privilege save that of "the Cannibal English interest."

On the restoration of the King, the rank of Duke was conferred on Lord Ormonde, and he was further appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Irish Parliament, by one of its first acts, voted him a present of £30,000. In October, 1662, he visited Kilkenny, and displayed little less than royal state. Sir Robert Southwell, who, on the occasion of this visit, accompanied the Lord Lieutenant, writes: "There was during the whole stay at Kilkenny such a throng, and more especially of the relations of all sorts in this ancient and capital seat of the family, now most magnificently adorned, that, considering the late banishment, desperation and confusion that had been among them all, it is not possible to figure a greater earthly joy than what appeared then in the faces of everyone, and whereof I was witness" (*Mountmorres'* 'History of the Irish Parliament, page 262). All, however, was not sunshine. The fanatics, as the extreme Puritans were called, through "the fears which many were in of being dispossessed of the estates they had gotten from the Irish" (Life of the late Duke of Ormonde, London, 1747, page 144), organised a dangerous conspiracy against the State. A party headed by Alexander Jephson and Major Warren formed a plot to seize upon the Castle of Dublin, and to put the Lord Lieutenant to death. The plot, however, was discovered, but as usual an attempt was made to throw the odium of the conspiracy upon the Irish Catholics. Consequently an order was issued for a general disarming of the people throughout Ireland "as well of the Roman Catholics, who were known not to have been in the least privy to the design, as of all sorts of fanatics, most of them being with good reason suspected to have been concerned in it"—(Ibid).

The question was often asked in those days, and has often since been asked, was Ormonde an enemy of the Irish Catholics? Many persons have been found to answer that question in the affirmative, but others have contended, and apparently not without some grounds, that religious antipathy was quite a secondary factor in Ormonde's politics, and that it was his main ambition to increase his wealth and

to preserve the immense territorial possessions of the family. Perhaps no other family had been so enriched as the Ormondes by royal grants of confiscated religious property. As the immediate relatives of Anne Boleyn, they merited the special favour of Henry VIII., and a second time rich gifts and grants were lavished on them by Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. When the first peace was being negotiated with the Irish Confederates in 1645 and 1646, the King gave most ample powers to Ormonde to meet the wishes of the Irish Catholics, but Ormonde chose rather that the negociations of peace should fail, and the Irish Catholics be set at enmity, than that any question would be entertained relating to the confiscated ecclesiastical property. A little later when he negociated with the Puritans for the surrender of Dublin and other towns in Ireland subject to the royal authority, his Commissioners were instructed not to allow a confiscation of his property and to justify the peace which he had prepared to the Irish Catholics in 1646, on the grounds that it was necessary "for the preservation of the Protestants," and that such dissensions had been sown thereby among the Confederates that their whole frame of government was dissolved. (Clanrickarde's Memoirs, London, 1722, page cxiv). In the articles finally agreed upon on this occasion the Parliament engaged to preserve to Ormonde and some others similarly placed their estates and property; he was to be free moreover to collect his rents as hitherto; and in lieu of some expenses which he was said to have incurred a sum of about £14,000 was granted him. This matter of money and property meets us at every step in Ormonde's career, and nevertheless all his wealth seemed to melt away at his very touch. Notwithstanding that he enjoyed immense estates, and that he had from time to time received in grants no less than £370,000, yet at the time of his death all this was spent, and he handed down to his heir a load of debts, amounting to £90,000. (Life of the late Duke of Ormonde, London 1747, pag 153). Ormonde was again Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when the Titus Oates plot was announced in the month of August, 1678. None knew better than he how idle and malicious the tale of conspiracy was, so far at least as the Catholics of Ireland were in question. Nevertheless, to conciliate the popular opinion in England he adopted the most stringent measures against the Irish Catholics. On the 14th of October, 1678, he issued a Proclamation "for all officers and soldiers

to repair to their respective garrisons and quarters, and not to depart thence without licence." Two days later followed another Proclamation commanding all titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Abbots, and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority of the Pope, as also all Jesuits and other regular priests, to depart the Kingdom by the 20th of November; and that all Popish Societies, Convents, Seminaries and Papist Schools should dissolve and separate themselves." It was by order of this Lord Lieutenant that the Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, and the Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, were arrested and thrown into gaol in Dublin, and though Archbishop Talbot was in a dying state the severities of his imprisonment were not allowed to be in the smallest degree relaxed. On the 20th of November, 1678, another Proclamation was issued "forbidding papists from coming into the Castle of Dublin or any fort or citadel; and ordering that no papist should be suffered to reside or dwell in any garrison except such as had been inhabitants there by the space of twelve months before; and that papists should not meet in unusual numbers, or at unseasonable times." From the time that he had entered on the government of the Kingdom in 1662, Ormonde had prohibited the admission of Catholics into the army, and to secure the observance of this rule the pay of every officer and soldier was made contingent on having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and his producing a certificate of having twice in the year received Communion in the Protestant church. In November, 1678, this order was specially renewed, and a reward of £10 was offered for every commissioned officer, £5 for every trooper, and £2 for every foot soldier that could be discovered to have gone to Mass since he took the required oath. As if all this did not suffice to ensure the safety of the Protestant interest against the encroachments of the Roman Catholics, an edict was published in December, the same year, ordering "the popish inhabitants to be removed from Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Drogheda," excepting only "some few trading merchants, artificers, and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons." But we are now encroaching upon the episcopate of James Phelan, who was the immediate successor of Dr. Rothe. Suffice it to say that for well nigh thirty years the Government of Ireland was virtually in Ormonde's

hands, and throughout that period the Catholics were subjected to innumerable persecutions, and the Kingdom was brought to the brink of ruin. At length his own fortunes were involved in the same destruction. The flattery of that age allotted him the epithet of 'The Great Duke.' To me it appears evident that there was nothing Great about him except his selfishness. Even Burnet writes of him: "He is a man of pleasant conversation, and has ever lived high and at a vast expense. . . His friends have, all of them, complained much of him, that he is a very cold friend, and will neither put himself into danger nor to trouble for them, and that he thinks it enough to be civil and kind to himself." During his latter years he was despised by his enemies and neglected by his former friends. A few months before his death he said to Sir Robert Southwell that "he had not one friend left at Whitehall to write him the very common occurrences that passed." The Duchess and his three sons died before him, and he, himself, weighed down by anguish and by debt, sunk into the grave at Kingston Hall, in Dorsetshire, the 21st of July, 1688.

JAMES O'PHELAN.

In the year 1668 when an interval of comparative calm succeeded to the fierce storm of persecution that had so long swept over the Irish Church, the Holy See began to deliberate on the appointment of Bishops to the widowed Dioceses of Ireland. In the Acts of the Congregation of Propaganda at this time the name of Rev. James O'Phelan, priest of the Diocese of Ossory, is repeatedly registered among those who were recommended for one or other of the vacant Sees. Thus, on the 24th of July, 1668, those best acquainted with the wants of the Irish Church and with the wishes of our people, prayed for his appointment to some See within the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, and on the 24th of September, the same year, others urged his appointment to the metropolitical See itself, on the grounds that that he was "canonized in the estimation of the public on account of his exemplary life, prudence, and learning." The Congregation of Propaganda, however, resolved upon his appointment to the See of Ossory, and to the record of his appointment the note is added that he was "a native of the Diocese, and that his appointment would be

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